HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Why More Troops If There's No Victory Plan?

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)

(As the war in Viet Nam drags on with no victory in sight—or even planned—many conservatives in Congress are beginning to question strongly the wisdom of increasing the U.S. troop commitment. An extremely powerful statement of these doubts was made on the House floor August 8 by Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan. The article that follows was excerpted from that speech.)

I rise after much reflection to express my grave misgivings, which have been growing for many months, about the way the war in Viet Nam is going. I believe my concern is shared by many millions of my countrymen, and I know it is shared by those responsible for fighting the war in Viet Nam.

My troubled thoughts were brought into sharper focus last Thursday [August 3] by the President's message asking for a 10 per cent federal income tax surcharge. For my part I reiterated that President Johnson still has not made a convincing case for higher taxes.

But with his tax message, as an additional and emotionally compelling argument, the President announced his decision to "authorize an increase of at least 45,000 in the number of men to be sent to Viet Nam this fiscal year."

This will swell the total to 525,000 Americans, not counting those in adjacent areas, surpassing our peak manpower commitment to the Korean War. Viet Nam is a major war and has become an American war.

At the end of 1963, when President Johnson succeeded to the presidency, the United States had approximately 16,000 men in Viet Nam. Only 109 had been killed in action and about 500 wounded.

By grim coincidence, the Pentagon released the latest casualty figures on the same day we received the President's tax increase message. The toll of Americans—as of July 29—now stands at 87,000—12,000 dead and 75,000 wounded. Figures rounded.

I blame nobody but the Communist enemy for these sad statistics. I have supported the President and our country from the outset and to this hour. I have heard myself branded a hawk, and worse, for counseling firmness against Communist aggression and using America's awesome arsenal of conventional arms to compel a swift and sure peace.

But I am troubled, as I think most Americans are troubled. Recent surveys show that more than half of our people are not satisfied with the way the war in Viet Nam is being conducted.

Why are we talking about money when we should be talking about men? The essential element in President Johnson's tax increase message, I submit, is not higher revenues but human lives—not whether every American should live better but whether hundreds and thousands of Americans are going to live at all. . . .

I believe everyone in this House would willingly vote any level of taxes and the American people would willingly pay them if they were convinced it would bring the Viet Nam war to an end. But as I do not believe the grave challenges we face at home can be countered simply by pouring out more and more money, neither do I believe the graver challenge in Southeast Asia can be met merely by pouring in more and more men and by these brave men pouring out more and more blood.

I am troubled that the President's ordering 45,000 more Americans to Viet Nam is almost taken for granted, so hardened have we become to these creeping commitments. I am troubled that the only apparent result of Gen. Taylor's and Mr. Clifford's circuit of our Pacific allies, besides arranging another Asian summit show, was a promise of some 3,000 to 15,000 South Korean reservists "to release American troops for combat duty" in Viet Nam. Should it not be the other way around?

President Johnson himself set the ground rules for a great debate about our nation's priorities and goals. I accept them. I hope others will join. In his tax increase message, Mr. Johnson said:

> This nation has taken a solemn pledge that its sons and brothers engaged in the conflict [in Viet Nam] shall never lack all the help, all the arms, and all the equipment essential for their mission and for their very lives. America must and will honor that pledge. It is for this reason that expenditures for Viet Nam—subject as they are to the variable demands of military operations—may now exceed our earlier estimates.

After outlining his higher tax plans, the President added:

> The inconveniences this demand poses are small when measured against the contribution of a Marine on patrol in a sweltering jungle, or an airman flying through perilous skies, or a soldier 10,000 miles from home waiting to join his outfit on the line.

See Page 7 for PROGRESS REPORT from the Editors NEWSPAPER

These men of the 173rd Airborne Brigade slog through the muddy jungles 8,000 miles from home in what has now become the longest war in U.S. history. U.S. combat casualties have now reached 90,000 killed, wounded and missing.

Who can question such a comparison?

But the question we may ask—the question I must ask—is this: Why, and how long, must U.S. Marines patrol that sweltering jungle? Why, and how long, must U.S. Navy and Air Force pilots brave increasingly deadly skies because the flow of sophisticated Soviet weapons has not been stopped? Why, and how long, must American soldiers—now nearly half a million—wait 10,000 miles from home to meet and match Asian enemies man to man, body for body?

We must ask another question: Why are we pulling our best punches in Viet Nam?

Is there no end, no other answer except more men, more men, more men?

Of course we will give our fighting men all they need to defend their lives and carry out their mission. But what is their mission?

Is there any clear, coherent and credible military plan for bringing this bloody business to a conclusion?

Certainly there are such plans. Our ablest military leaders would be unbelievably derelict not to have developed a variety of alternative strategies based on the situation and sound military experience. But up to now they have not been allowed to put their plans to a real test; or worse, their plans have been tried piecemeal, in the same senseless way Americans have been fed piecemeal from 16,000 to 525,000 into this peninsular war, under such high-level restrictions as to void their validity.

Gen. Eisenhower recently stated pointedly that a "war of gradualism" cannot be won. The result of our "war of gradualism" against North Viet Nam has been the equivalent build-up of the enemy forces on the ground and the accelerated hardening of his defenses.

What is especially dishonest is secretly to forbid effective strategic action and publicly portray it as an honest try. Then, when expected results are not forthcoming, to belittle the effort and its backers. This is worse than dishonest—for meanwhile brave men have died in vain. . . .

Reviewing [the National Republican Coordinating Committee] December 1965 policy statement, I am compelled to some tragic and troubling conclusions.

- First, under policies which the President has just pledged to continue substantially unchanged, our purpose of minimizing American casualties has failed. Our purpose of securing a swift peace has failed, because it was never tried. And our purpose of repelling Communist aggression remains, at best, a dubious stalemate and deadly duel of attrition.
- Second, our [GOP] warning against involvement in a disadvantageous land war in Asia has gone unheeded. It now is academic. Half-a-million Americans are deeply involved, more than 10,000 have lost their lives in the intervening 20 months, and the only answer present leadership has to offer is to order 45,000 more into battle.
- Third, our primary recommendation for a quarantine, or any meaningful form of seapower sanction against Haiphong harbor, has been rejected. The enemy meanwhile has had time to develop and defend alternative overland and air supply routes bristling with imported Soviet weapons. After many months the refitting of the battleship *U.S.S. New Jersey* has just been authorized, and will take almost a year to finish. Meanwhile the enemy has installed in heavy concrete emplacements along the North Vietnamese coast what may well be Soviet surface-to-surface missiles capable of sinking a warship at 100-mile ranges.

Continued on page 15

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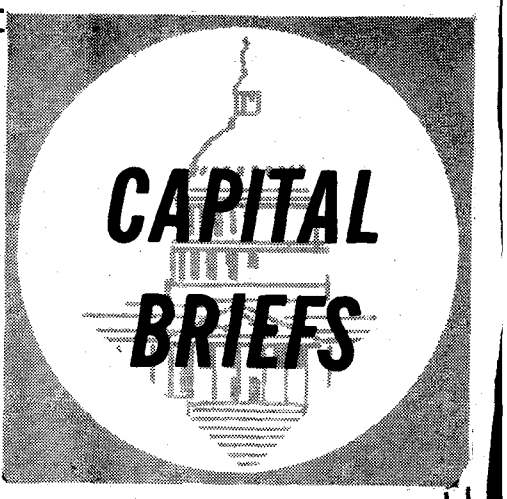

● LBJ is reportedly "sizzling mad" at Bobby Kennedy again, this time because LBJ believes Bobby had something to do with the resignation of retired Lt. Gen. **James M. Gavin** from the Massachusetts Democratic Advisory Council. In vacating his post (and after clearing the matter with Teddy Kennedy), Gavin said: "I simply cannot support President Johnson for re-election in 1968." LBJ is not alone in believing that Gavin—a Kennedy buff and JFK's ambassador to France—was prodded in some way by Bobby in a move calculated to get Bobby the nomination over LBJ in 1968.

● Florida's GOP Gov. **Claude Kirk** neatly demonstrated one way to stop a riot last week. Just after militant "Black Power" leader H. Rap Brown was telling a group of about 300 Jacksonville Negroes, "You better get yourselves some guns, baby . . . ", Kirk suddenly appeared on the scene, grabbed the mike from Brown and said he didn't want to hear any talk about guns. Later, as Brown looked on in amazement, the flamboyant Kirk plunged into the crowd smiling and shaking hands. Observers credit Kirk with possibly having averted an ugly incident.

● Students of LBJ were puzzled by the appointment to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders of businesswoman **Katherine Peden.** An explanation is now available. Miss Peden, who doubles as the Kentucky commerce commissioner, hopes to challenge GOP Sen. Thruston Morton next fall. Membership on the so-called Riot Commission would give the little-known Miss Peden some badly needed publicity.

● The governors of 27 states have endorsed a nationwide series of parades planned by the newly formed **National Committee for Responsible Patriotism** (500 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10036). The non-partisan group will stage parades throughout the country the weekend of October 21-22, mobilizing support for U.S. soldiers in Viet Nam and respect for law and order. Executive Director Charles Wiley says the group has pledges of support from leading veterans', fraternal, labor and business organizations throughout the country.

● Rep. **Paul Findley** (R.-Ill.) is getting a lot of criticism from his constituents because of his "let's recognize and trade with Red China" stance. The basically conservative Republican, who nonetheless recently boosted dovish Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) as a favorite-son presidential candidate, is believed to be heavily influenced by his liberal, 27-year-old administrative assistant, Stephen Jones, a one-time campaign aide to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Jones, say insiders, wrote Findley's China speech.

● In a recent Playboy interview, New York City Mayor **John Lindsay**, who from time to time professes to be a Republican, praises Democratic President John F. Kennedy for bringing "a lift to the country," suggests that a stubborn Congress was at fault for obstructing his programs and says Democratic Sen. Robert F. Kennedy has "worked hard and well for the state."

● The National Review Bulletin notes that Dr. **Franklin H. Littell,** head of a Washington-based group set up to expose "right-wing extremists," recently indulged in some extremism of his own. Speaking to the National Education Association in Minneapolis, Littell, who is also president of Iowa Wesleyan College, said: "Right-wingers are not loyal opposition. Their style is disloyalty. . . . Extremists [of the right] should be thrown out of whatever groups they are in—churches, synagogues, political parties, school boards, professional organizations. The question is not how their opinions can be changed. The question is how soon they can be muted and rendered ineffective."

● A number of Communists are playing leading roles in the August 31 Chicago meeting of the **National Conference for New Politics,** a gathering of radicals that will feature Dr. Martin Luther King and may draft a third-party presidential candidate. Among the Communists who are participating in the preparation of the conference: Arnold Johnson, public relations director of the CPUSA, and Donald Lee Hamerquist, who was elected Democratic precinct committeeman in Portland in May 1966.

● Conservatives in the Nation's Capital last week were disappointed to see Senate Minority Leader **Everett Dirksen,** in an about-face, come out in favor of the Administration's rent supplement plan. Dirksen, who normally votes conservative on domestic fiscal matters, seemed to be impressed by the large number of businessmen trotted out by LBJ in support of the plan.

● The Senate Appropriations Committee has urged President Johnson to deploy "immediately" an **anti-ballistic missile system.** Citing Red China's successes in missile development and Soviet Russia's unwillingness to cut back on its own ABM system, the committee said the Administration must take responsibility for any further delay. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said there is no rationale for delaying deployment.

● Exiled Katanga leader **Moise Tshombe** last week got an unexpected ally: Bobby Kennedy. The New York Democrat "deplored" the kidnapping of Tshombe, thus incurring the wrath of Congolese Premier Joseph Mobutu, who said Kennedy's statement was "an interference in the affairs of the Congo, which is a sovereign country having friendly relations with the United States." (Tshombe's memoirs have just been published; see page 13.)

● A Washington delicatessen, only a few blocks from the White House, is featuring the **"Nasser Sandwich**—Half-Tongue, Half-Chicken, with Russian Dressing."

● Informed politicos say **Sargent Shriver's** hopes of running against Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) have been shattered. The Illinois Democratic machine had wanted to run Shriver until the recent riots revealed that many of his poverty warriors had egged on the rioters and even participated in the looting.

● The usually placid **George Mahon** (D.-Tex.), powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, blew up when Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh blamed his city's riots on "reactionary" penny-pinching congressmen. "It was not lack of money, it was lack of leadership that caused disorders in Detroit," Mahon said. The Democratic lawmaker noted that the federal government had poured billions into the Motor City—including $100 million for urban renewal alone. "Is Mayor Cavanagh utterly opposed to all forms of self-help at the local level?" Mahon asked. "Can he only look to Washington for more handouts?"

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Can LBJ Be Beaten?

Savvy Capitol Hill politicos are saying: "LBJ is in deep trouble. He faces massive problems on both the domestic and foreign fronts and appears unable to solve any of them. If the election were held this year, almost any Republican could win."

The Democratic high command, including top political strategist Larry O'Brien, is worried.

One member of the LBJ inner circle contends that unless there's a decided upturn in Lyndon's fortunes, he'll be in as much disfavor with the public in 1968 as President Harry Truman was in 1952. Rather than run again, Truman bowed out of active politics when the polls revealed he had less than 30 per cent of the public behind him.

Truman's popularity sagged because of the "corruption" issue and the discovery of security risks in high government echelons, but an even larger factor was his inability to terminate the Korean War.

Veteran politicos, however, stress that Truman's problems pale into insignificance compared to Johnson's. LBJ is faced with not only a stalemated war in South Viet Nam, but a mounting wave of crime and criminal rioting in our major cities. Corruption (Bobby Baker, et al.) and security (the firing of Otto Otepka, the security clearance of Robert Niemann) also loom as 1968 issues.

Polls now suggest that the public is beginning to blame the President personally for these conditions. For it is LBJ, after all, who has laid down the "no-win" course in Southeast Asia, dramatically appeased the "Black Power" militants roaming the cities, personally selected the "soft on criminal" types now filling federal judgeships and executive posts in the Justice Department and tolerated corruption and poor security standards in government.

Seasoned pros point to other reasons why they are not predicting a bright political future for LBJ.

The unflattering image of the President as a less than savory character has been vigorously reinforced by the baring of fresh White House scandals, including the recent revelation that LBJ, primarily because of his close friendship with his attractive former secretary, appointed her 29-year-old non-lawyer husband to a cushy $26,000-a-year job with the Subversive Activities Control Board.

President Johnson (left) faces many of the problems that beset Harry Truman, who chose not to run in 1952 when his popularity waned.

The President is also being whipsawed on all sides by the Viet Nam issue. The left wing of the Democratic party—the ADA, Bobby Kennedy, Gen. James Gavin—is verbally pummeling the President for supposedly escalating the war, while the Republicans, who have long supported his stand, are now zeroing in on LBJ for his refusal to press the war to a successful conclusion (see Rep. Gerald Ford's remarks on the front page).

Because of LBJ's war stance, liberal reporters normally apt to protect a Democratic President are more than willing to detail the President's sins, thus contributing substantially to his woes.

Indicative of LBJ's rapidly dwindling popularity is the growing rebellion against the "Great Society" in the Congress, particularly in the House—the body most sensitive to the public pulse. Though overwhelmingly Democratic, the House has gutted or eliminated such pet Johnson schemes as the model cities program, rent subsidies, trading with the enemy legislation, foreign aid, rat control and the Teachers Corps. It has also taken less than kindly to the President's proposed tax increase.

Fed up with LBJ's pussyfooting around the crime and riot issues, the House has passed an anti-riot bill (objected to by Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark) and last week almost completely revamped LBJ's anti-crime bill, stripping Clark of most administrative functions and making riot prevention and riot control the main features of the bill.

An even more telling indictment of LBJ's popularity in Congress, say the pulse takers, is the fusillade of criticism now being directed against the President's highly touted anti-poverty program, a project that has been nearest and dearest to Lyndon's heart.

Both the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee are training their sights on the program. Continuing probes,

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

say observers, will undoubtedly unearth more evidence that this key element of LBJ's "Great Society" is plagued with scandal.

For all these reasons, there is a growing belief among the pros that LBJ faces a difficult if not impossible re-election task in 1968.

House Shoots Down Clark

The House dealt a stinging setback to the Administration last week when a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats took a sharp punch at Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and virtually rewrote the President's anti-crime bill before sending it to the Senate.

A series of nonrecord votes brought one victory after another to the coalition as the dispirited Democratic leadership looked on in shocked disbelief.

The measure's major revision directly reflected the lawmakers' great displeasure with the President's attorney general. Offered by Rep. William Cahill (R.-N.J.), the amendment stripped Clark of most of his authority to pass out the funds under the program and turned that function over to the states.

CAHILL

Feeling that the Administration version would not necessarily cover anti-riot training and other crime prevention programs, Rep. Clark MacGregor (R.-Minn.) amended the Cahill proposal so that the "highest priority" would be given to control of civil disorders and organized crime. The Cahill-MacGregor amendment passed, 256 to 147.

But the House still wasn't through with the young Mr. Clark. When Rep. Robert McClory (R.-Ill.) proposed shifting several research and training programs from the attorney general to an independent body, the congressmen eagerly adopted the amendment.

Clark's job, itself, may actually have been saved by a parliamentary device. A point of order ruled out a move to abolish Clark's post altogether and replace the Justice Department with an Office of Justice headed by an attorney general who would not be in the President's Cabinet. Rep. William Minshall (R.-Ohio) says he will re-introduce this plan at a later time.

LBJ's much-revised anti-crime bill now goes over to the Senate, where Republican leader Everett Dirksen says he will try to tighten it up even further.

Did Your Senator Help Hanoi?

The more liberal Senate also overrode the Administration's leadership last week by voting to bar the extension of Export-Import Bank credit to any government which furnishes goods or supplies to North Viet Nam. The amendment, proposed by Sen. Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), carried by a comfortable 56-to-26 vote, even though Byrd's office says the Administration was applying concerted pressure to defeat it.

BYRD

The adoption of the Byrd amendment followed the Administration's victory in what was supposed to be the big East-West rollcall test of last week—an amendment by Sen. Everett Dirksen designed to bar Ex-Im loans for purchase of American products that would eventually end up in Communist territory. Political observers say the Byrd measure won out over the Dirksen amendment because it was far simpler to understand.

The Virgina solon says his proposal was also designed to put a permanent crimp in the Ex-Im's proposed loan of $50 million to the Fiat Co. of Italy for the purchase of machine tools required for the huge $1-billion automotive plant Fiat will build in the Soviet Union.

The Administration is already trying to reinterpret Byrd's bill and Harold F. Linder, president of the bank, says he doesn't think it covers the Fiat deal. Over in the House, however, Republicans and conservative Democrats have plans to rally around an amendment by Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) which would bury the Fiat deal altogether.

Readers are urged to write their congressmen asking them to adopt the Fino amendment if the Ex-Im measure comes to the floor in the House.

Following is the 56-to-26 rollcall vote by which the Senate accepted the amendment offered by Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. (D.-Va.) barring Ex-Im credits to nations supplying the Hanoi regime:

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 56

DEMOCRATS (35): Anderson, Bayh, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Church, Dodd, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Harris, Hartke, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Lausche, Long (La.), Magnuson, McClellan, McGovern, McIntyre, Monroney, Montoya, Nelson, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Spong, Stennis, Symington, Talmadge and Yarborough.

REPUBLICANS (21): Allott, Baker, Boggs, Carlson, Cotton, Dirksen, Fong, Griffin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Smith, Thurmond, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 26

DEMOCRATS (18): Bartlett, Clark, Gruening, Hart, Hayden, Inouye, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Mansfield, McCarthy, Mondale, Muskie, Pastore, Pell, Sparkman, Tydings, Williams (N.J.) and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (8): Case, Cooper, Javits, Kuchel, Morton, Percy, Scott and Tower.

Not Voting: 18

Niemann Case Interests HCUA

As a result of information published in *Human Events* (see July 20 issue, p. 3) the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been making a preliminary probe of the case of Robert A. Niemann, the UCLA graduate student who was given a secret clearance by the Pentagon despite his open support of Communist causes.

An avowed campus radical who voted for Los Angeles party leader Dorothy Healey for tax assessor in 1966, Niemann, who works on Air Force and Army contracts, has been permitted to keep his secret clearance even though he has publicly joined the Communist-spawned W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Fully aware of his DuBois Club connection, the Pentagon's director for security policy, Joseph J. Liebling, has publicly proclaimed that Niemann's "secret clearance is clearly consistent with the national interest."

When *Human Events* requested the Defense Department to grant an interview to explain the rationale behind Niemann's clearance, a department spokesman, after considering the proposition for 24 hours, finally replied that the security section felt an interview would

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be "pointless" and did not wish to "debate" the matter. Director for Security Joseph Liebling had told *Human Events* previously that he thought the Niemann matter wasn't "worth mentioning."

Sorensen and Tshombe

Human Events placed a telephone call on August 2 to the New York law offices of Theodore Sorensen to ask if he had any intention of intervening on behalf of ex-Congolese premier Moise Tshombe. Tshombe's case, it was believed, should have interested the former JFK aide, who fancies himself a civil libertarian, because Tshombe's rights have been violated at almost every turn. Kidnapped in mid-flight while in Spanish exile and forced down in Algeria, which has promised to extradite him to the Congo, Tshombe was sentenced to death in absentia by a military court for "treason" just this March. The treason trial lasted all of 30 minutes and was conducted without defense counsel of any kind and without witnesses. There is also no stenographic record of the trial available.

SORENSEN

Now on the payroll of the Central Congolese government, Sorensen, according to his personal secretary, was busy when we called, but she promised to inform Sorensen of our question and give him our number so he could call back (collect) with his answer.

Sorensen never called. Several days later he wound up in Moscow speaking to the Institute of Soviet-American Relations about the necessity for "detente" and, according to the Associated Press, attempting to negotiate "some undisclosed trade deals for American interests."

Question: Would coming out in favor of Tshombe, considered an anti-Communist imperialist by the Soviets, prevent Sorensen's negotiating any trade deals with the Soviets, or would it result in the Central Congolese government's dropping the liberal Sorensen from its payroll?

OEO Subsidizing Riots

Here are just a few of the reasons many members of Congress believe that the anti-poverty program is helping to subsidize the riots:

• About 75 demonstrators forced their way past guards into the House of Representatives visitors' gallery last week shortly after the House had adjourned. Police herded the crowd from the Capitol after a wild struggle in which three of the demonstrators were clubbed down and a policeman hit so hard he later coughed up blood. Six men and two women were arrested but released after they each had posted only $10 collateral. The demonstrators' apparent purpose was to oppose anti-riot legislation and promote the rat control bill.

Reports later revealed that the taxpayer-supported Harlem Blackstreet Youth, which runs a neighborhood youth corps program, helped arrange the Washington trip for the demonstrators and that several of the protestors were poverty warriors. The leader of the demonstration, furthermore, was none other than Jesse Gray, a black revolutionary who took the 5th Amendment in 1960 when asked about allegations that he had been a Communist party member and who in 1964 openly called for "guerrilla warfare" to stop "police brutality." Gray has also worked with anti-poverty officials in New York and has made his reputation as a rent strike leader.

• Information that the anti-poverty program was funding a Nashville, Tenn., "liberation school" whose guiding spirit was Stokely Carmichael. Testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Capt. John A. Sorace of the Nashville police contended that Fred Brooks, local chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who was linked to rioting there in April, was director of the school, was listed on the payroll at a salary of $300 a month and was driving a new station wagon leased with OEO funds.

The Rev. J. Paschall Davis, chairman of Nashville's anti-poverty program, initially denied charges his program was financing the school, but acknowleged "we are involved in a certain way." The Rev. Davis also admitted that the station wagon had been leased and that the local poverty agency had agreed to pay $20 a week rent for six weeks for four women working at the school. Davis also conceded that a list of prospective salaries had been drawn up showing Brooks was to be paid $300 monthly and that there would be no bar to financing the project despite the known SNCC activists running the "school."

• William Millard, a Negro detective in Newark's police intelligence unit, charged before the Judiciary Committee that poverty workers contributed to the explosive pre-riot atmosphere in that city. "I'm not saying they're responsible for the riot," Millard told Eastland. "I am saying their participation, particularly in the City Hall meeting, contributed to the atmosphere that could very well have brought on the riot." (OEO officials have tacitly conceded their poverty people may have been at fault; they asked for the suspension of at least one Newark anti-poverty worker, Willie Wright, for having told residents of the city's Negro area that they should arm themselves with weapons.)

• In Chicago, a VISTA volunteer was convicted of disorderly conduct and interfering with police during a racial outbreak. Police said the anti-poverty worker shouted, "Black Power—Wait until it gets dark and we'll burn the city down and show the white cops."

• In Cincinnati, the federally backed "West End Community Council" has urged "Soul brothers and sisters" to boycott a local supermarket. The council is demanding an all-Negro employment policy, in violation of the Civil Rights Act.

TV: Soviet Propaganda Tool?

Is television looking at Russia through rose-colored glasses? An article in the August 5-11 *TV Guide* answers a resounding yes. With stunning frankness, noted network correspondents and producers admit the programs filmed in the Soviet Union for viewing by American audiences give a dishonest portrayal of life under communism.

Says CBS correspondent Marvin Kalb (formerly CBS's man in Moscow): "It is practically impossible to do an honest show on the Soviet Union. They take you where they want you to go. They literally point the cameras for you. They want you to present the most pleasant, idealized picture of Russia."

A network producer, preferring to remain anonymous, told *TV Guide:* "I confirm Marvin Kalb's statement that it is virtually impossible to tell the truth about the Soviet Union on film. The people who say it is [possible] are not telling the truth.

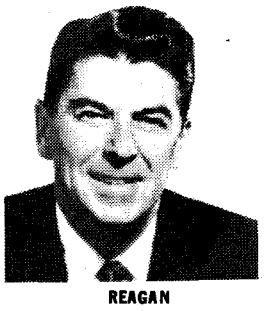
"I don't want to talk for publication. If I did my network could be closed off forever from doing documentaries in Russia.

"There's no real trick to doing shows there if you want to cooperate with them. Spoonfeeding is the order of the day."

Reagan Gets Good Marks

Even *Time* magazine, not always an amiable observer of conservative affairs, has given California Gov. Ronald Reagan some kudos for his performance during the recent session of the state legislature.

Ironically, noted *Time*, Reagan's biggest legislative victory was passage of a $933-million tax increase—mainly hiking levies on income, sales, corporate and bank profits, cigarettes and liquor. Though the tax boost was large, Reagan, sticking to conservative "pay-as-you-go" economics, insisted the huge increase was needed to pay for former Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown's deficits and previous programs enacted by the Democratic-controlled legislature.


REAGAN

When Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh and several other Democrats suggested that income taxes be deducted directly from paychecks, Reagan opposed the idea. The governor convinced the legislature that the taxpayers should pay in one big annual bite and thus be kept painfully aware of the cost of government.

Reagan also successfully insisted that a $194-million debt left over from Brown's administration be paid off immediately rather than in installments. In addition he sliced more than $43 million from the budget by cutting some of Brown's programs and won a partial victory on his campaign pledge to reduce property taxes by funneling some state funds to local school boards and providing a $22-million reduction in property taxes next year for Californians over 65. A major part of his crime and governmental reorganization programs was also passed.

Though triumphant with some of his major fiscal programs, not all of Reagan's efforts met with success.

His plan to charge tuition at the state colleges was dropped and he failed to win passage of bills to curb welfare frauds and impose tough controls on obscenity. A number of conservatives, furthermore, believe the governor could have been tougher in his role as economizer.

Nevertheless, for a political neophyte, Reagan chalked up a fairly good record. His accomplishments have been reflected in the polls which reveal him as a popular governor and a leading contender for the GOP nomination in 1968.

Percy's Bid

Chuck Percy is mulling over an all-out battle for the GOP presidential nomination. Convinced that Michigan Gov. George Romney is faltering in his campaign, Sen. Percy last week leaked the news that he is "seriously considering" going to the Republican convention as Illinois' favorite son.

PERCY

"No matter how good Percy may look to the party next summer, no one is going to swing over to him unless he's got his own state behind him," a supporter explained. "It's a sort of minimum eligibility requirement."

But Percy may have considerable difficulty getting that minimum backing. Sentiment is widespread in Illinois GOP circles that the old warrior, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, be so honored as favorite son for his 32 years of service in Congress. (Percy has been in Washington for eight months.)

Selection of Dirksen as Illinois' favorite son would be more than a gesture, however. It would undoubtedly aid him as he seeks re-election next year against a younger, well-financed Democratic opponent.

But Percy is out for Percy. He has reportedly told associates that "Ev has no chance for the [presidential] nomination. I do. That's why they've got to go with me as the favorite son."

'Precision Shafting'

The much-ballyhooed "economies" of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara were exposed last week as a cruel joke on the American taxpayer. Hard-digging staffers of the special investigations subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee uncovered evidence that the Pentagon is paying anywhere from 400 to 5,000 per cent more than the catalogue price in purchases of certain military hardware. A full-scale probe with public hearings has been scheduled.

PIKE

Rep. Otis Pike (D.-N.Y.), a subcommittee member, says that he is "appalled by the steady year-after-year, month-after-month, week-after-week revelations of wasteful government procurement practices." As one example, Pike points to a two-and-a-half inch rod which is designed to sell for 50 cents. The Pentagon paid $25.55 for each of 20 rods it purchased.

"The manufacturer's catalogue described this little piece of rod as precision shafting," Pike noted, "and the taxpayers of the United States got exactly what they paid for."

Other Pentagon "economies" uncovered by the House probers: A small gear, listed in the manufacturer's catalogue as selling for $6.17, cost the Defense Department $27.50. A clamp, list-priced at $2.60, was purchased by the Pentagon for $22.86. And a gear advertised for $3.43 cost the taxpayers $194.30.

Alibied defense chief McNamara: "Waste is bound to creep in when an organization expands as rapidly as this one has in the past year."

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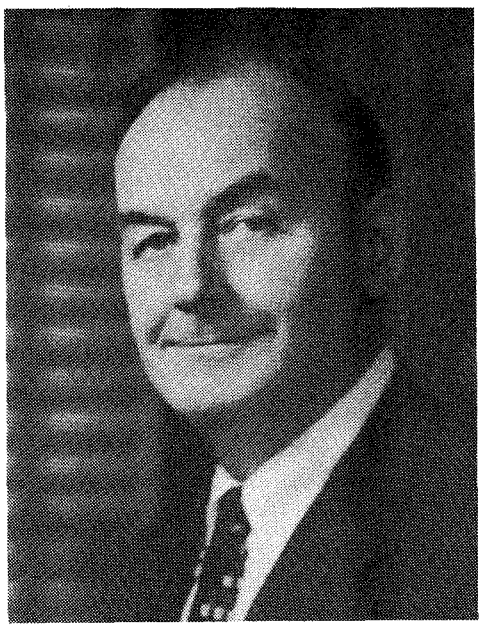

Under questioning by Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), left, Assistant HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen admitted that "Medicaid" costs might exceed $1 billion a year.

'Medicaid': Congress Could Correct Billion-Dollar Error

From the Chicago *Tribune*

By voting to limit federal contributions toward state "Medicaid" programs, the House Ways and Means Committee has set about correcting one of the most colossal boners in legislative history.

"Medicaid" is the name given to the medical assistance program which slipped through Congress almost unnoticed in 1965 as part of the bill establishing Medicare. Even those who did bother to read the provisions of Title 19 generally assumed that the medical assistance program (MAP) was simply a continuation of medical assistance to the aged (MAA), which was established in 1960 under the Kerr-Mills Law.

Mr. Johnson had committed himself to a Medicare program and left no arm untwisted in his determination to see it through. A threat to reorganize the Ways and Means Committee persuaded its chairman, Rep. Mills, to abandon his long-standing opposition and to support the Administration's bill; indeed, it was he who introduced it.

The bill rolled through both houses like a Sherman tank in a field of goldenrod. Only a few Southern Democrats and barely half of the Republicans voted against it. Republicans from New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan, the territories of the three liberal Republican governors, were solidly behind the bill.

To the extent that anybody had time to mention MAP, it was to assure us that it wouldn't cost more than $200 million a year—or $238 million at the most.

Nobody had paid much attention when Sen. Javits, the New York Republican who often outdoes the Democrats in his generosity with other people's money, slipped in an amendment providing that the federal contribution would be based not only on state contributions (as under the earlier law), but also on contributions from local governments.

Nor had anybody inquired as to the dropping of the word "aged" in the title of the program.

It wasn't long before the reason for both of these gestures became apparent. The new bill no longer limited medical assistance to the aged; it made it available to anybody already on any federal-state relief roll, regardless of age, and—even more important—to anybody else who might be too rich to qualify for relief but who, in a state's opinion, needed help with his medical bills.

New York came up with a program based on state and local financing which alone would cost the federal government $250 million, or more than the promised cost for the whole country. It offered assistance to a family of four with earnings as high as $6,000.

Sen. Williams, the watchdog from Delaware, realized that this time one had slipped by him. Under his grilling, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilbur Cohen acknowleged that the annual cost of MAP might easily exceed a billion dollars. Instead of giving help to eight million people, as predicted, the number now threatens to reach 35 million.

Medicaid is an example of what can be foisted on the country by an insistent and overbearing Administration and a careless Congress. Mr. Mills tried to undo the damage last fall, but failed. New York's program was approved in November, even though opponents said the Administration had promised not to do so until Congress had reconsidered the program.

Congress can undo the damage now only by forcing New York, Michigan and no doubt a good many other states to rescind the overly generous programs which they have already put into effect. This is a difficult thing for a politician to do, and it has already led one unhappy congressman from the Bronx to wail "inequity." But the longer Congress waits, the harder it will be – and the more money will have been squandered.

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THE BIG RING—"'I have accomplished the major part of what I set out to do as Michigan's governor,' said George Romney as the legislature passed the budget. 'Michigan at last is on a sound foundation. The state is now in a responsible fiscal position.' Instead of a statement, he could have just thrown his hat in the ring."—From the Detroit *Free Press*

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IUE SCANDALS—Two officials of the International Union of Electrical Workers were accused recently of squandering $141,747 of rank-and-filers' dues. IUE President Paul Jennings said that Milton Weihrauch and Joseph Iozzi spent the money on "strike assistance" never received by strikers, salary advances never repaid, unauthorized trips to Miami Beach, liquor, bars, restaurants, a $55 pipe and $350 color television set. Iozzi and Weinhrauch, officials of IUE's 100,000-member District 3, denied the charge.

What's Wrong with Hippies?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Talking to or about "hippies" seems a virtual obligation these days. Oddly enough, the hippy credo of "You do your thing, I'll do mine," doesn't require all of this attention, They would prefer to be left alone. But the pundits of the left keep reading deep significance into the "movement" so that being left alone just isn't in the cards.

My two cents worth, therefore, follows.

First of all, let me make it plain to friend and foe alike that the sort of libertarian position to which I adhere cannot condemn the hippies. They have a perfect right in a free society to go their way, wear their flowers, sing their songs, dance their dances, love their love, as they see fit so long as they do not harm others, infringe on the rights of others or expect others to pay their freight.

To their resounding credit, the hippies by and large do not transgress those limits. Most are peaceable, often doing quite good works in their own communities, and are detached from the violent leftist politics of some of the cults that preceded them.

Giving them all that is their due, however, it is proper, it seems to me, profoundly to disagree with what has been described as the "values revolution" of which they are said to be a spearhead.

This is a revolution, the pundits say, against the "achieving society." It is revolution in favor of the values of "the simple life" and, as Max Lerner puts it, "the harmony of mind and body and spirit that produces nothing, but is there only for the joy of being there."

It has seemed to me all along that, in fact, the hippies did reflect such a trend. And I happen to disagree with it altogether. They are essentially, for instance, anti-intellectual. They also are disturbed by individualism and very fond of tribal society, collective anonymity and certainly against prideful creativity and excellence.

In a very real sense, it seems to me, the hippies are the ultimate reactionaries of our times. They not only want to halt the clock, but to send it spinning backward into the pre-history of tribalism.

As for being against the "achieving society," I can only conclude that they have seriously misread what that society represents. But then, why shouldn't they? Most of their pundit friends have been doing it for more than a generation.

The achieving society, to the hippies, is drudgery, conformity and killing competition. The achieving society, in actual and demonstrable fact, is the society that has cured man's ills, broken through all of his frontiers, liberated him from grinding drudgery, raised him from common illiteracy, permitted him more widespread individualism than previously granted to emperors, and even pointed his feet toward the stars, just as it has long aimed his poems, songs, and dreams there—and everywhere.

The achieving society, out of which the hippies want to drop, is the society in which the mind of man reigns supreme, questing, daring, questioning, dreaming and above all, doing.

The tribal societies of which they are so fond are not competitive, it is true. Everyone is born knowing his place and knowing that it is useless to try to better it. Loving the world of the American Indian, as I do, I, of course, deeply respect such societies.

Loving the restless spirit and mind of man even more, and having the most profound faith that rational man can master himself and all the universe in the great span of time, I prefer the free society, even with its uncertainties and challenges—and, always, opportunities.

Achievement, hippies should consider, just happens to be "the thing" of a free society. And it is a value without which man could not survive on this or any other planet.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

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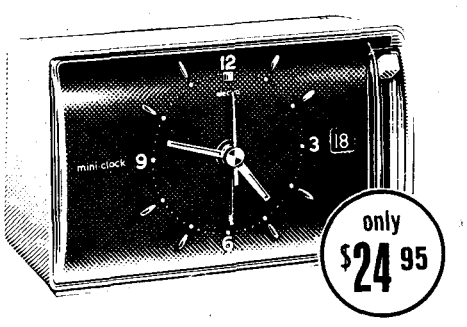
DIVISION OF POWERS — "Sen. Dirksen rejected some recording contracts because they required him to do readings of 'Peter Rabbit' and 'Winnie the Pooh.' Propagating fables, after all, has been traditionally the function of the Executive Branch, not the Legislative."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

SOME PEOPLE WILL THINK YOU'RE CUCKOO TO PAY $25 FOR "JUST" A CLOCK



They're the same people who don't mind living with "the approximate" time or walking into a Five-and-Dime every six months to buy another new $8.95 wind-up tick-tock.

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Business and Labor Working Together

Riots Hide Nationwide Efforts to Train Poor

By VICTOR RIESEL

Chicago:—"Learn, baby, learn," man, is hotter than "burn, baby, burn." That's the advice being given to thousands of young Negroes—and their white neighbors in a hundred ghettos—by honest men now deep in the very power structure which the firebrands are eager to tear down.

But it is far more than advice these men are giving. They're spending their money, their time, their talents and the not always abundant excess energies of harassed middle-aged corporate and labor executives.

And they did not wait for the fires to turn on the heat. Their story is being lost in the crackle of yesterday's flames. That's a pity, for right now—deep in the heart of the goliath steel industry—business executives and labor leaders are "tooling up" a pilot project which could take tens of thousands of undereducated and unskilled adults off the streets and put them into the pipeline for secure and well-paying jobs.

At this moment in the Chicago-Gary and Baltimore steel complex local leaders of the United Steelworkers of America and management men from seven major steel corporations are running "employe clinics." They're seeking 1,600 undereducated workers so they can be sent to classes in September right in the big plants themselves.

The pilot project seeks both the men who need rudimentary re-education and those whose literacy is on a slightly higher level. In the end, these men, while working, will have gone through 150 hours of upper-level grade school and high school courses at the rate of six hours a week. They will study just before or just after the shift. The much-abused "power structure" corporations will pay the bill.

If this succeeds in such plants as Bethlehem's Sparrow's Point and Armco's mill over in East Baltimore, and down the line here at Inland, National Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube and U.S. Steel, the operation will flow coast to coast throughout this behemoth industry.

From there, the projects will be moved into the auto, rubber and other mass-production fields.

The objective is to upgrade the skills and education of the employes so they can tear themselves loose from the laborer category on the bottom.

But most vital, once the bottom is unclogged, the industry would be justified in going into the community and getting at the hard core—those swept up in the emotional and charred maelstrom of the big-city streets. As the trainees are promoted, the new cadres will be moved into an industry where labor earns about $4 an hour and has job security.

But those who scream above the roar of falling buildings, howling sirens and breaking of heavy glass, can't expect instant millenniums. Those who scream all the way down from Baltimore to Washington in the caravans of CORE's "Steel and Shipyard Workers Committee" may well discourage and dislocate the pilot project. It takes time to learn the difference between a coke oven and a blast furnace.

The pilot project may not suit the young lions in the streets, but if it works it will give hundreds of thousands of unskilled and uneducated workers a chance to "get with it."

This is a four-way effort. It sprang from the 1965 collective bargaining negotiations (which wound up in the White House). Virtually unnoticed and unreported was a final contract clause on training of manpower.

The steel industry's coordinating group, speaking for 10 major firms, agreed to set up a study committee. On it were the union's president, I.W. Abel; its special counsel, Elliot Bredhoff; Bill Caples of Inland Steel, and H.C. "Lefty" Lumb of Republic. They could commit the entire industry.

They conferred with government officials and soon, in May 1967, they had $1 million of federal funds. Thus Willard Wirtz's Labor Department, John Gardner's Health, Education and Welfare Department, the union, the industry and the Midwest Board for Fundamental Education were rolling. The board is one of the few with a congressional charter such as that of the Red Cross.

It specializes in workers motivation, new methodology for educating adults and training of teachers. It will conduct the classes.

Of course, 1,600 men are only the beginning. If they move successfully through the study courses, the industry can be expected to move into the community, though it is not the responsibility of Big Steel. Educating the unskilled semi-literate proletariat is the public's task. But the much-abused "power structure" is hardly what it is made out to be in the literature of what Lenin called the infantile Left.

There's much riding on this pilot project. It could steer a course for all massive industries and unions.

But not if the rioters continue to burn the inner gut of America's great industrial cities, nor if these megalopolises exist as armed camps.

Learn, baby, learn, or tomorrow there may be mighty little left to burn.

(Copyright 1967, Publishers-Hall Syndicate Inc.)

Michigan National Guardsmen patrol the shattered neighborhoods of Detroit. Columnist Riesel points out, however, that the road to Negro advancement lies in "learn, baby, learn," rather than "burn, baby, burn."

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STARTING OVER — "The Department of Transportation foresees the day when autos and their passengers will be whisked about the country piggy-back on specially designed railroad cars. Will that mean moving all the billboards again?"—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

How High Taxes Hold Back Slum Repairs

By RAYMOND MOLEY

I have waited to comment on the Negro riots—especially in Newark—until the first tidal wave of published comment has spent itself. For every sort of reformer has contributed suggestions of how this violence might have been avoided and how other outbreaks might be prevented. Those reformers have been of infinite variety, from the bleeding hearts to the iron-fisted Cromwellian suppressors. And much of what has been said is unsupported by any intimate knowledge of the unfortunate or, if you wish, the guilty cities themselves.

In Newark, the problem of slums has been known for many years. The files of the Newark public library are crammed with material on the subject, which runs back to the turn of the century.

The old Third Ward was the center of public interest long before there was any considerable migration of Negroes. Crime, slums and disease prevailed then. In 1946 the housing authority of Newark reported on conditions that are even now the target of comment.

The blight was there. The Negroes from Harlem and the South simply moved into its midst. Areas decayed by neglect compelled a lowering of rentals, which invited the influx of impoverished Negroes. And such cheap living quarters drew inhabitants who were too ignorant to realize that there was also a low limit to employment opportunities. The economy of the Newark area simply could not meet the need of jobs for the people who came to live there.

Nor have the problems thus created lacked recognition by people and institutions whose business is to study and contrive solutions. Three or four years ago some people in what is called the Urban Studies Center of Rutgers University planned an intensive study of the slums, largely centered upon housing in the urban area of which Newark is the center. Their plans were developed with the help of the Urban Land Institute, which provided some of the money. Funds were supplemented by the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Lincoln Foundation, in which I serve in an advisory capacity and as a board member, made a small contribution. The result of the operation is a book, *The Tenement Landlord,* by Prof. George Sternlieb, director of the project, and published at Rutgers last year.

Few of the sociological questions involved in the Newark troubles are considered in this study except peripherally. The major center of interest is housing.

Welfare expenditures in Newark increased in the years 1941-1963 by 400 per cent. Public assistance to the poor rose nearly six-fold in 20 years. The conclusion is clear. A mere poverty program is simply a palliative. It solves nothing.

Taxation is far more important. For it goes squarely to the basic questions of the return to landlords on their properties, the rental costs to slum dwellers and, what is most important, the lack of inducement to private capital to invest in improved housing.

I have been told that property taxes in Newark are the highest in the nation. I cannot vouch for that. But Sternlieb shows that over the past 20 years the Newark tax rate per $100 of valuation has more than doubled.

The broad impact of property taxation is not the real question. The vital point is that assessments and the consequent tax burden rise only when owners improve their property. Here Sternlieb produces incontestable evidence which justifies his conclusion: "In the face of rent level plateaus, the increasing level of the tax rate, which Newark and many other municipalities have found necessary, has reduced the profitability of slum investment." In simpler language, he says, "The typical landlord response has been to reduce maintenance and avoid additional investment."

In even simpler language, the conclusion is that present assessment and tax rates slap a penalty on the owner who improves or rebuilds his housing. And since that is true, the landlord receives a subsidy when he permits his property to disintegrate.

Robert Kennedy will discover, if he digs deeply enough, that private capital will not rebuild slums so long as this penalty on building remains in the laws and practices of our states and cities.

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It is quite possible that radicals such as H. Rap Brown (above) are fired up by the massive publicity given them. Brown is shown here during a "news conference" after his arrest in Virginia after helping to incite the Cambridge, Md., trouble last month.

Two Other Riot Causes: TV and Public Officials

By PAUL HARVEY

Television is being accused of worsening race rioting.

Missouri Congressman Durward Hall says, "Instant communications fan the fires." He says, "TV furnishes a nationwide audience for a Stokely Carmichael and thus does this one-eyed Frankenstein create monsters."

He says TV "transforms oddballs into persons of national prominence."

I second the notion. However, Congressman Hall's indictment should have gone further.

I say the news media have helplessly helped to worsen race rioting by quoting the President of the United States!

In June 1965 President Johnson told the graduating class at Howard University, Washington, D.C., "Our earth is the home of revolution. Nothing is freighted with more meaning for our own destiny than the revolution of the American Negro."

In August 1965 President Johnson told demonstrators, "I am proud to salute you as fellow revolutionaries."

Of course, our President did not intend to approve or incite *violent* revolution. That fact may have been clear to his immediate audience at the time. But in nationwide repetition and publication those words reached a lot of sub-par intellects appearing and sounding like applause and encouragement for "revolution."

Both Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Secretary of State Rusk said publicly that if they were Negroes, they, too, would demonstrate.

Later, of course, with American cities in flames, our President changed his tune.

On July 27, 1967, the President publicly resolved that "violence will be dealt with forcefully, swiftly, certainly under the law." He said, "We can stop it, we must stop it, we will stop it!"

Now, after scores are dead and many square miles of America the Beautiful are in ashes, our vice president is "ashamed of those who protest grievances with violence. . . ."

Little wonder our trumpet has an uncertain sound.

Indeed, after three nights of anguish and agony in Detroit had spread to more than a dozen other cities, President Johnson's "we can, we must, we will" speech went on by implication to blame Congress for not approving money for "rat control" and the President promised more "welfare. . . ."

Thus, to many of us, it still sounded as if rioting is the way to get what you want. You want a new neighborhood, burn down the old one.

So if the American press has blood on its hands, the terrible responsibility must be shared by public officials who have used the news media to make extravagant political promises and to harp on the "plight of the underdog" until a lot of people who had not previously felt like "underdogs" gradually did—and became restive.

And then violent.

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NO JOB TAKERS? — Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D.-W. Va.) cannot understand why the District of Columbia Welfare Department does not urge unemployed women to take available jobs as domestic servants. "We haven't reached the place where this is the only opening to them," he was told by Winifred Thompson, D.C. welfare head, during a recent Senate subcommittee hearing. Miss Thompson said most domestic jobs do not offer the unemployed financial improvement because they do not pay enough and there is "still too much of a connotation of being a servant." "It's better to be a servant than to be unemployed, isn't it?" Sen. Byrd asked, remarking, "Domestic workers are very difficult to get. All these jobs are available; why don't they accept them?"

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POLLS APART — "A poll in Israel has revealed that Lyndon Johnson's more popular there than Moshe Dayan. A poll in the United States, we suspect, would reveal the reverse."—From the Detroit *Free Press*

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'Weep for the Innocent'

It is well to try to understand the criminal, but America should never forget the primary function of law: protection of the unoffending citizen

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

In the past five years the population of the United States has risen 8 per cent.

And in the past five years, according to the FBI, the incidence of major crime in America has gone up 40 per cent.

This is a staggering statistic. When—not merely misbehavior, not merely juvenile delinquency—but murders, robberies, rapes and aggravated assaults go up five times as fast as the population increase, we had better start looking for remedies.

A lot of people are. And they include many patriotic and compassionate citizens who keep claiming that crime is largely caused because non-criminals don't have enough social conscience.

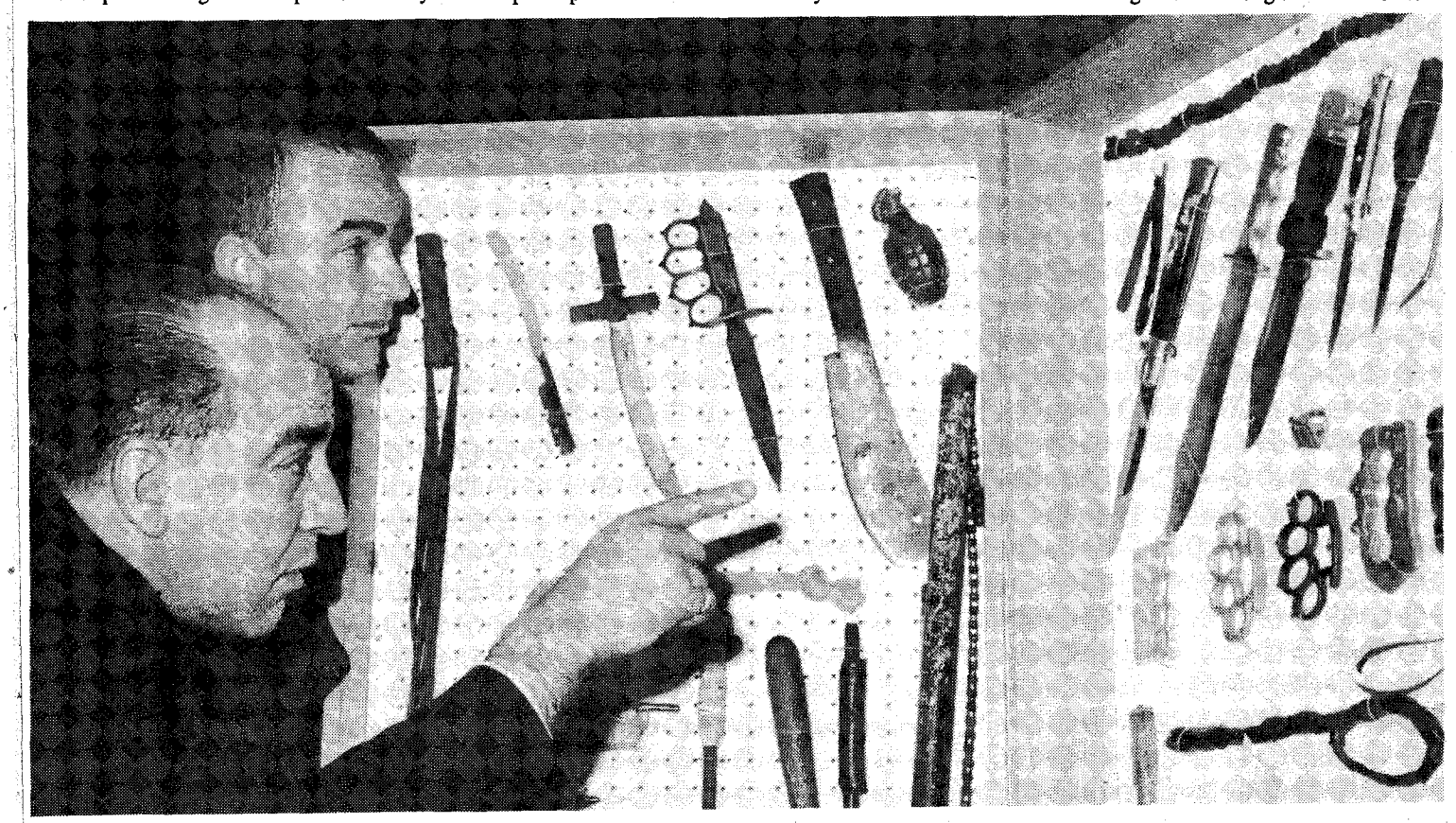
It is their theory that the cure for crime is better schools.

And more public housing.

And a more equitable racial mix to be achieved by integrating neighborhoods and cross-hauling children.

And giant infusions of federal money into so-called depressed areas.

And persuading the drop-outs to stay in.



Los Angeles police officials look over a display of various weapons used by criminals in vicious street crimes.

And hiring only those cops who will promise to behave like benevolent big brothers.

And more relief and more social workers and more youth clubs.

Oh, yes, and because a number of dope addicts have robbed in order to find money to support their habit, it has been seriously suggested that the government supply the drugs free so that its users may float around the streets in narcotic euphoria, paid for by the squares who work.

Root of Crime

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure all these theories are splendidly meant. But I would like to raise some questions.

If poverty is the root of crime, how does it happen that crime has increased most rapidly in a period in which the general per capita income has increased more rapidly?

If ignorance is the root of crime, why does the crime rate rise at a time when there has never been so much free schooling and trade training offered and when the national index of illiteracy is at its all-time low?

If lack of social services and relief are responsible, how does it happen that crime is most out-of-hand in those cities filled with recent migrants from rural areas who were attracted to those cities for the plain reason that work was no longer necessary and relief was available to all?

One Chance in 70

There are deeper reasons for this national malaise than can be cured by the simple outpouring of more public funds. And it is time that people of good will and intelligence recognized that, unless the rewards for gross irresponsibility can be diminished and unless the wages of sin can be cut, the overwhelming majority of law-abiding Americans of all races is going to be increasingly victimized by the unprincipled and vicious minority.

According to latest U.S. government estimates, the number of serious offenses committed against American citizens last year will run to well over 2.75 million.

This means that last year you had one chance in 70 of being murdered, maimed or robbed. The measure of this risk can best be appreciated by the fact that you had only one chance in 100 last year of dying from any and all causes, including accidents.

The annual crime bill is running at $27 billion. That's equal to $143 for every man, woman and child in America. The whole cost of public education in America comes to only $20 billion.

In behalf of cutting the wages of sin I would like to make a few suggestions:

We had better, for example, take another look at the doctrine of "reasonable doubt." In recent years many thousands of men, known to be guilty by judges and juries, have been turned loose because of strained and far-fetched technicalities that would have appalled and astonished the creators of our Bill of Rights.

Now, man's effort to free himself from the possibility of false conviction is an inspiring story and worthy of applause. In ancient and medieval times thousands were hurried to the scaffold or the rack, and millions rotted in dungeons as a result of charges made of cheesecloth. The man of law was often only a man of terror and oppression.

Slowly man's anger grew and he gathered his strength. With the Magna Carta the nobles curbed the excesses of the kings, and with the growth of the common law the people curbed the excesses of the nobles. And then came the American Constitution and the prohibitions against unreasonable search and seizure, and cruel and unusual punishments. But, because it was impossible to write definitions that would be fair under all circumstances, interpretation of these rights was still largely left to the courts.

And gradually there has risen a bit of sonorous but unthinking rhetoric that says: "Better to let 10,000 guilty men go free than to imprison one innocent person." This sounds great—in a high school debate. It serves to clothe the sayer with the white robe of a lover of humanity and a protector of human rights.

Victims of Criminals

Yet there is hardly a law enforcement officer who, in the light of his practical experience, doesn't realize that if the interpretation of "reasonable doubt" were so broadened that 10,000 criminals were left unpunished in order to avoid a single bum rap, the cause of public order and equity would be miserably served.

For these 10,000, arrogant in their contempt for law, could be counted on to kill, rob, maim and rape hundreds of innocent citizens.

Let us not forget that the unoffending men and women who fall victim of criminals who had been previously turned loose on tortured technicalities are also the victims of bum raps—very bum.

Not long ago, in a speech to the Pennsylvania Society, J. Edgar Hoover said:

"When this great nation was founded and when its guidelines were being established for future generations of Americans, George Washington proclaimed, 'The administration of justice is the firmest pillar of government.' What," asked J. Edgar Hoover, "has happened to that 'firm pillar' in the intervening 175 years?

Narrow Middle Ground

"Far too often it has become weakened by impractical theorists, emotion-blinded pressure groups, warped idealists and self-serving politicians. Misguided leniencies, including pardons, paroles and probation for unrepentant and unreformed offenders, continue to prevail in many jurisdictions—as does the use of loopholes, technicalities and delays in the law which benefit rogues at the expense of recent members of society."

In many court jurisdictions we are going to have to do better than we have in finding that narrow middle ground which gives maximum protection to the falsely accused without jeopardizing in far greater measure the safety of blameless Americans.

Secondly, it seems to me that we are going to have to do more solid thinking about reasonable procedures under the criminal law. The presumption of innocence, the access to counsel, the privilege of refusing to testify against oneself and the right of habeas corpus are all precious.

But when, in the *Mallory* case, the U.S. Supreme Court turned loose a confessed Washington rapist because 18 hours had elapsed between his arrest and his arraignment, I believe the court was not simply way out in left field. It wasn't even in the ballpark. The culprit, incidentally, to whom the august justices referred as "that lad," was subsequently arrested in Philadelphia for a similar crime.

The court's ruling, according to many better legal minds than mine, was faulty on two counts. Under certain circumstances its dictum would give officers insufficient time to make a case where a case could be made. And the hurry it imposed might cause prosecutors to rush to arraignment persons against whom no case really existed, with consequent damage to their reputations.

It is one thing to let a man languish in jail without a charge being filed against him, and it is another thing to force officers either to charge or release a man before they have had reasonable time to complete an investigation and interview witnesses. Somewhere there is an area of common sense which, I believe, the Supreme Court just whizzed by.

Thirdly, I think we are going to have to make up our minds about capital punishment. We have fallen between two stools. Thirty-five of our 50 states retain capital punishment on their lawbooks, yet they commute practically all death sentences, and those that are carried out occur only after interminable stays and delays.

Executions Rare

It is popularly assumed that murder and forcible rape are punishable by death. Yet in 1965 there were 9,850 murders in America and 22,470 forcible rapes. And there were exactly 15 executions for all causes. That means that only one out

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of each 2,080 persons who committed what are believed to be capital crimes actually paid with his life.

Few persons are executed in America who are not impoverished and friendless and incapable of wielding even the slightest political pressure.

It is a solemn thing to take the life of a man, even with the sanction of law and in just retribution for the highest crimes. Anyone who has sat with a governor on execution night knows what a bleak and nervous evening it is.

What we have done with capital punishment in America, through our hesitancy and lack of courage, is turn it into a form of slow torture which the law, itself, never contemplated nor condoned.

Caryl Chessman in California languished through 12 years of legal gymnastics before the state finally had the courage to put him in the gas chamber. In Oklahoma recently a condemned prisoner was adjudged insane after having suffered through 3 stays in five years.

Yet capital punishment has some uses. Most obvious is the fact that the executed criminal never commits another crime. And there would be a strong deterrent factor if executions were carried out resolutely and with promptness.

Manitoba went without a bank robbery for 20 years after a gunman killed a teller. The robbery occurred on Tuesday. He was captured immediately. The trial was held on Thursday. He was sentenced to be hanged on Friday. And the hanging took place the next Tuesday.

With the actual time served for life sentences in most states running at less than 12 years, we had better consider the consequences of junking the death penalty.

Last year one out of every nine officers was attacked while trying to make an arrest. Between 50 and 80 policemen are murdered each year by criminals who, in a split second, must compare the chances of escaping arrest with the weight of the penalty in case they are caught. If the probability is that, even if you pull the trigger and are subsequently captured, you will walk out of prison some day, the temptation to pull the trigger will be greater.

Death Sentence Limitation

Instead of eliminating capital punishment, states might be smarter if they passed laws providing that any death sentences not carried out within 100 days of sentencing will be automatically commuted to life imprisonment. One hundred days will provide plenty of time to resift the evidence, and the deadline will force the appellate justices to make up their minds.

Fourthly, I think the courts must ask themselves why a hold-up man puts a real bullet in his gun.

If he claims he brought the gun only for the purpose of frightening his intended victims, the court should note that an empty automatic looks just as frightening as a loaded one. If he says he wanted to enforce the fright by letting go with a wild shot, the court should realize that a gun loaded with blanks can make an adequate noise.

The plain fact is that the hold-up man who puts real bullets in his weapon is prepared to kill someone. He is prepared to sentence to death without trial persons who have committed no offense except, perhaps, to oppose his unlawful purpose.

It seems incredible that courts should often take a lenient view of the criminal with a loaded gun just because he didn't pull the trigger. The loaded gun, it seems to me, is prima facie evidence of the intent to murder if necessary. When we quit weighing armed robberies by the value of the loot and start looking upon them as the next thing to murder itself, we may begin to make life a little safer in America.

Fifth, we ought to be doing a lot more thinking about this puzzle: When should you pardon without punishment, and when should you parole after punishment?

Repeaters Betray Trust

According to the latest FBI records, three-quarters of the people arrested for criminal acts are repeaters, and over one-half of those have been given some form of pardon, parole or suspended sentence. In other words, they had been trusted and betrayed the trust.

For years now we have heard the argument that every juvenile should be allowed one stolen car on the house because to punish him in any way might upset him sufficiently to send him into a career of crime.

This has been going on long enough to permit some pragmatic observations on its effectiveness. Today, two-thirds of the arrests for automobile thefts, one-half of the burglaries and larcenies and one-fourth of the robberies involve persons under 18 years of age.

Again quoting J. Edgar Hoover:

"Too many young people are developing neither the self-discipline nor the moral restraint to get along in a free society. Their world is a narrow island of irreverence, intolerance and irresponsibility too often encouraged by parental delinquency.

"It is time to stop slapping young hoodlums on the wrist and begin clapping them into jails and reform schools. Justice is not served when the innocent victim and society suffer while the vicious young criminal goes free."

Judges' Bleak Option

There is, however, honest and understandable concern about the consequences of sending young people to our existing reformatories. For in too many states courts face the bleak option of excusing the offender altogether or of committing him to a graduate school of crime which differs little from an adult prison.

It seems to me that we are going to have to do some experimenting. We might do well to set up some "swift kick" correction farms to which young, incipient delinquents would get three-to-five-day sentences. Individual, barred cells, hard work all day in the fields, no privileges and little companionship would be unpleasant enough to show that society does not intend to be long-suffering. And at the same time, the shortness of the sentences for early offenders would prevent the development of prison maladjustments.

Our whole prison system, for adults as well as juveniles, needs a long, new look. We do not have enough medium security institutions for prisoners judged reclaimable. Our programs of vocational training are generally poor. Yet the ex-con needs a trade more than any other man, for he has to offer to the employer a special inducement to hire him.

In too few states do we have pre-release camps to which prisoners within six months of the completion of their sentences or probable parole can be sent for a minimum-security indoctrination into the responsibilities of freedom.

Our present prisons, generally speaking, twist as well as they keep. They tend to accentuate the weaknesses that brought the inmates to them in the first place. They diminish the purpose and drive of men who were already lacking in purpose and drive. They deepen the perversions of the already-perverted.

They make more anti-social those who fell into trouble because they could not cope with society. They are hospitals which often take in the ailing and turn out the mortally ill. There's a lot we must do about our prisons.

And it is tragic in America that few decent citizens interest themselves in penology. You can get scores of prominent people exicted about orphanages. In recent years it has become fashionable to work for mental health. Mothers march around shaking tambourines for such rare ailments as muscular dystrophy and multiple sclerosis. But practically no one on the outside looks through the bars.

So let us shed a tear for the criminal. And let us resolve to drag our medieval corrective institutions out of the shadow of the Dark Ages. However poor their raw material, they can, if properly manned and operated, produce more cures than they are doing.

But, above all, ladies and gentlemen, let's weep for the innocent.

Let our citizens contemplate not only with sorrow but also with anger the fact that the streets of our Nation's Capital are no longer safe.

Let us pump up some honest indignation that no one dares walk after dark in the great Central Park of New York, or Fairmont Park in Philadelphia, or Forest Park in St. Louis.

Fast as our great cities have grown, even faster has grown the jungle within them where the vicious and the depraved are on the prowl.

On the nights when a long-delayed and overdue execution takes place within the prison walls, let a few of us forsake the sappy crowd of placard-carrying pickets at the gate, and go, instead, with a handful of flowers to the quiet and deserted graveyard where the killer's victim has long been lying.

Let us weep for the innocent.

For our communities, ourselves and our children are in needless peril because we in America have forgotten a fundamental truth:

The primary function of law is the protection of the innocent.

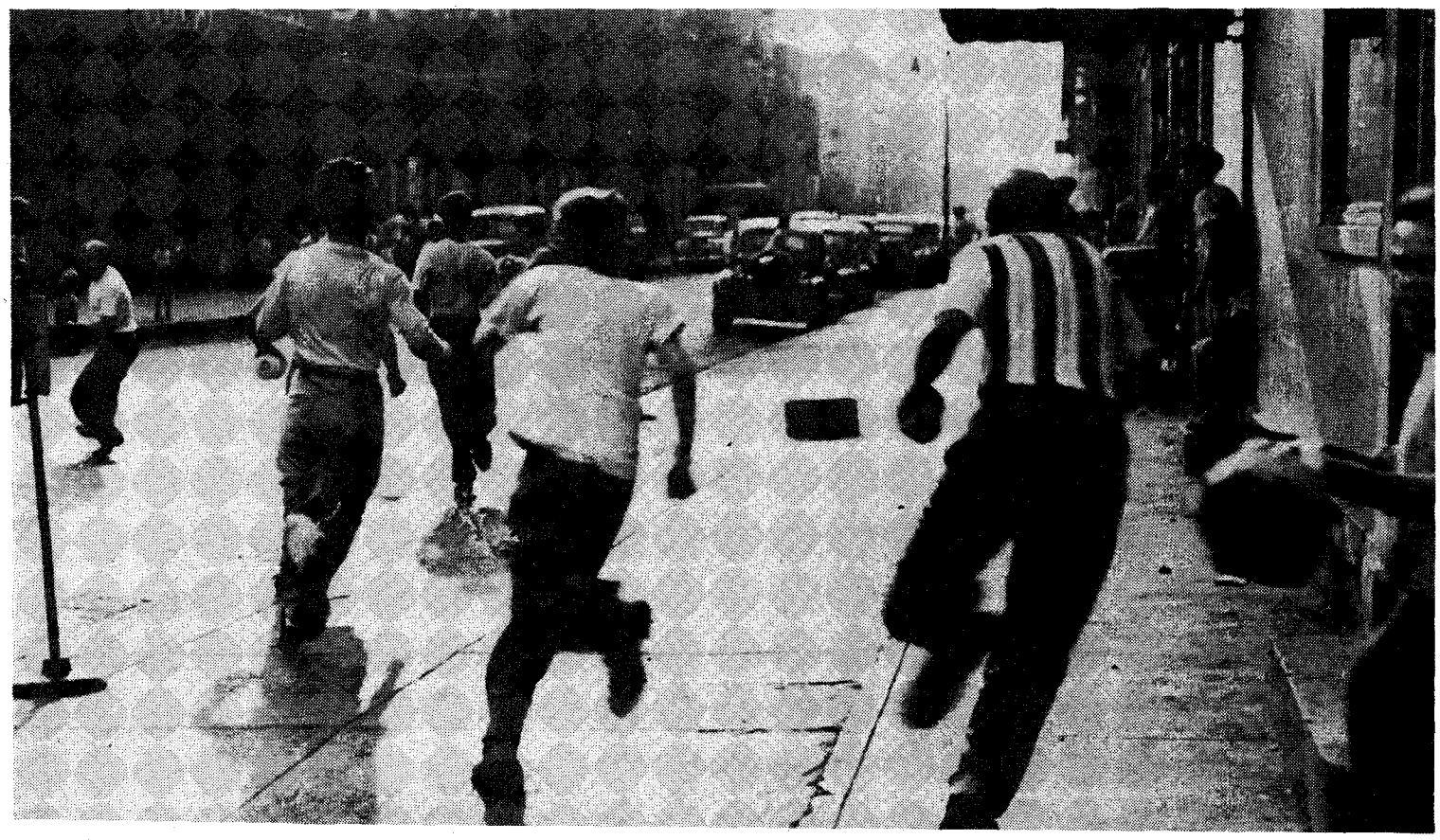
It is well to try to understand the criminal. It is well to exert every effort to put the wreck back on the rails.

But the only excuse for the institution of criminal law is to keep the unoffending citizen from getting hit.

If this requires tougher courts, so be it.

If this requires bigger jails, so be it.

Today the innocent citizen in America is being hit too often. And the repeated suspended sentences, the quick paroles and fatherly scoldings are not working.



A gang fight in New York in progress. The rising tide of juvenile delinquency has alarmed lawmakers and the public.

Some day it may be possible to read the electroencephalogram of a child and detect at an early age those brain-waves that foretell runaway egos, or violent tempers, or self-pity, or amorality. It may also be possible by future psychotherapy to dampen the cussed and stimulate the constructive elements of young brains. It may even be possible in some future glorious time to brainwash an adult criminal mind of its filth and delusions and render it unwilling to wage war against society.

But until the sciences of psychiatry and correction catch up to our present inclinations to forgive and excuse, great damage can be done to our nation.

Let us remember that among all civil rights there are no rights more fundamental than the right of an honest man to his life, the right of a child to walk the streets without peril, the right of young people to sit in safety beneath the moon.

In much of America we have lost these civil rights, and it is time our courts became concerned with their restoration.

For as Cicero said: "The safety of the people shall be the highest law."

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Mideast, Viet Nam and Now Canada

Where Will DeGaulle's Mischief Strike Next?

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

What France's unpredictable President Charles de Gaulle will say and do next in his enlarged role of international troublemaker, only Mr. I-Am-France himself knows. The Parliament is in recess until October. De Gaulle, in vacation seclusion now in his country home at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises, and with most of urban France shuttered for the sacred August holiday, can be reasonably confident there will be no crisis now.

However, what was a provincial affair in Canada when de Gaulle shouted *"Vive Quebec libre!"* (Long live free Quebec!) has now become an international incident.

He compounded his insult to Canada as soon as he reached Paris and summoned his Cabinet. That well-disciplined body went along with him in unanimous support of the treasonous separatist movement in Quebec Province. In agreeing with the few extremists' views that they do not enjoy "liberty, equality and fraternity," and that France would help them achieve their goals of freedom, de Gaulle has thrown his glove in the face of Lester Pearson, Canada's prime minister, whose official guest he was.

De Gaulle does not consider Canada strictly foreign territory. France founded Canada, he said, and it wants "a free Quebec."

French President Charles deGaulle winds up his fiery speech in Montreal, shouting "Long Live Free Quebec!" His outburst did not sit well with either the Canadians or the French.

Many Frenchmen are violently angry with de Gaulle for having compromised French foreign relations. They subscribe to the late Sir Winston Churchill's exasperated wartime comment on de Gaulle that "the greatest cross I have to bear is the Cross of Lorraine."

If de Gaulle had kept quiet after his huffy return from his official visit to Canada, time might have cooled tempers. But his snub of Pearson by refusing to visit Ottawa, and his failure to apologize to the Canadian prime minister for his meddling in Canadian affairs, added fuel to the affair.

Quite apart from the insult to Canada, and the disservice de Gaulle does international amity, he has alienated the sensible French in France. They know how serious are their economic domestic troubles and they do not welcome more problems. Yet there may well be small insurrections at home to deal with now, thanks to de Gaulle's encouragement of the French-Canadian separatist fanatics.

Two of France's most independent groups, the Bretons and the Basques, might choose this time to start making demands for special status.

The Bretons are stubborn and hard-headed people, attributes which derive from the Celtic and Scandinavian strain in their blood. The Basques are always temperamentally separatist, fiercely independent as "mountain people" are won to be.

During the Nazi occupation of France the Germans tried to set up a Breton state inside France. No Breton would demean himself by accepting a foreign enemy's gift, and the Nazi plan fell apart.

It would certainly not be inconsistent with Breton-Basque dreams of independence or special identity within France for them to start separatist movements now that de Gaulle has endorsed the principle by urging Quebec's secession from Canada.

The danger to France and to the free world from de Gaulle's irrational behavior, which increasingly shows rapidly advancing senility, is the opportunity it presents the enemies of the West to exploit it in anti-Western, anti-American propaganda.

For a long time now, de Gaulle has been playing the Communists' game. Only a man as mentally befuddled by his megalomania could so easily become the dupe of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi.

With his grand journeyings to and fro, his recognition of Red China, his buddying-up to Ho Chi Minh in an effort to regain lost prestige in the one-time French Indochinese empire, de Gaulle has become a deluded mischief-maker in international affairs.

In the Congo, Viet Nam, the Middle East, he's played on the Red side.

"People want self-determination," he cried at one point in his confusion, as if discovering a great truth. "Leave Asia, Africa and Europe alone," he told the United States. And many Americans wish we had, indeed, let Europe alone in two world wars that have cost us dear.

The trouble with the haughty French president is that he sees France as a continuing great world power and himself as a dominant world figure, of imperial stature.

It just ain't so, Charlie.

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Reuther Hazy on Profit Sharing

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther is demanding that members of his union be granted a share of the profits in the Ford Motor Co., but it is apparent from his proposals he has a garbled concept of profit sharing.

In the first place, experience has shown that while profit-sharing has worked in a number of industries, it virtually never can be successful where union and management have a history of friction and strife. It takes a great deal of mutual co-operation to make it work.

United Auto Workers chieftain Walter Reuther.

The basic idea in profit-sharing is to get employes and management working as one team to improve producivity and efficiency to increase profits—so employes, as well as the company, share in the higher returns.

This concept obviously wouldn't work in a situation where Walter Reuther could demand wage hikes that exceed an increase in production, a guaranteed annual wage whether the company has the funds set aside for it or not, and other proposals that consider only the union's point of view without regard for their effects on company profits.

It is no accident that profit-sharing has worked best where there has been either no union or a union-management relationship that has been harmonious.

It would seem Mr. Reuther would be the last to suggest profit-sharing because its adoption could mean the need of his services might one day disappear.

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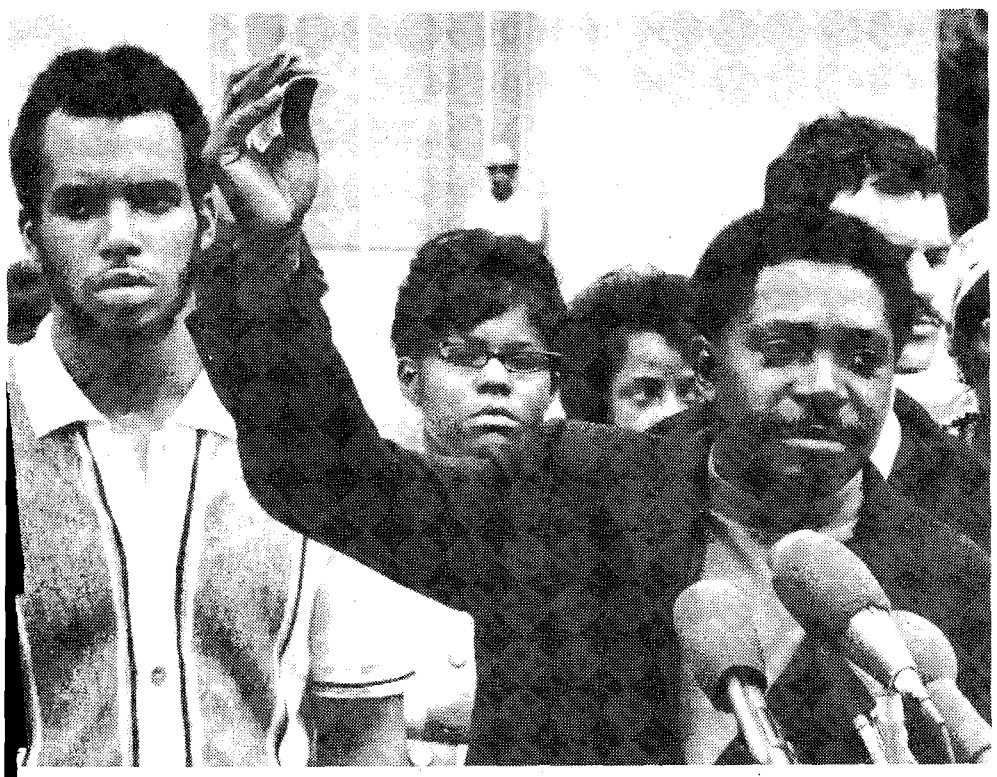

Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray, right, and Donald Weems, were among those arrested in Washington after a fracas in the Capitol building protesting the House vote on the rat bill. Gray and the others were released on only $10 bond.

Despite the Wailing, House Was Correct in Defeating 'Rat Bill'

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

On July 20 the House of Representatives voted 207 to 176 to shelve the Administration's "Rat Extermination Act of 1967," and since then the flak has been something awful. President Johnson said the House dealt a "cruel blow to poor children." The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights called the vote "an act of shocking irresponsibility." Even my own Washington *Evening Star,* which ordinarily expounds the sound doctrine, castigated the House for a "thoroughgoing disgrace."

Permit a dissenting voice. The House was exactly right in rejecting this half-baked, ill-considered and inconsistent proposal. Granted, a few of the members fell into poor taste in attacking the measure as a "civil rats bill" that ought to be killed "rat now." It would have sufficed to have assailed the proposal on its merits, for these were exceedingly few.

The rat bill first appeared on the Hill four months ago as Title I of the Administration's omnibus housing bill. When it became evident that the omnibus bill was in trouble, Title I was lopped off and reintroduced as a separate measure. As it came to the floor, the bill called for $40 million to finance a two-year program intended to exterminate rats and to improve garbage collection in about 100 cities. The grants (two-thirds federal money, one-third local money) were to be administered as an entirely new program under the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Now, it is the cynical custom around this town to look upon $40 million as if the sum were 40 cents. In the view of some of us, $40 million remains a substantial piece of money. The Administration made virtually no effort to justify such an outlay.

The House Banking and Currency Committee conducted eight days of hearings on the omnibus bill in April; perhaps half an hour, all told, was devoted to Title I. HUD Secretary Weaver, confessing that he was "not an expert" on rat control, gave the matter two pages of testimony only.

Dr. Weaver's department has an expert on rats, Leonard Czarniecki; he never was asked to testify; he did not even accompany the secretary to the hearings.

One estimate of rat population reportedly came from D. E. Davis, of the Department of Zoology of Pennsylvania State University; he did not testify either. Rep. Garry Brown (R.-Mich.) asked Dr. Weaver how he came up with the figure of $20 million a year. It developed that the doctor thought five million persons was a nice number of persons to be served, and $4 per capita was a nice sum to spend; so he multiplied the one by the other. Presto, $20 million.

Just last year, the Congress took an admirable step toward improving the distribution of federal funds for local health programs. In the place of specific-purpose grants, the Congress authorized block grants instead. The effect was to give local health officials greater flexibility in meeting local needs. Every student of local government applauded the step. But the rat control bill would have been wholly inconsistent with this improvement in public finance.

A major question never was answered: In the name of the Constitution, how did local rat control become a federal problem? Such cities as Detroit and Milwaukee have waged highly successful extermination programs, and financed them on their own.

Once federal subsidies were authorized for "improved garbage collection," what end could be seen to this river of federal funds? The only defense came from New York's William F. Ryan, who pleaded that the cities "must be aided by the larger financial resources of the federal government." What larger financial resources? The U.S. government is running some $20 billion in the red.

Certainly rats are a problem in city slums, but their control does not demand a new program of federal aid. The problem asks of slum dwellers that they get off their duffs and clean up their own trash; and it asks of city governments a locally financed program of extermination and sanitation. Why look to Washington for this? Why don't the cities look to their own needs first?

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Where Are the 'Liberals'?

The Semantics of Politics

By REP. DURWARD G. HALL (R.-Mo.)

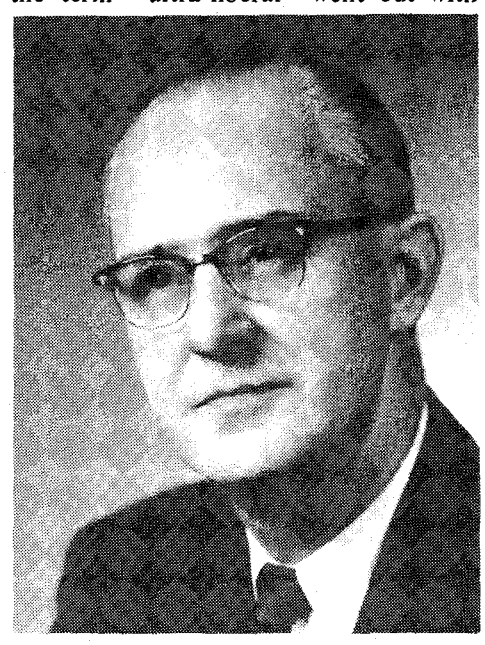
Why do so many columnists and commentators insist on re-writing the dictionary to mirror their own political tastes? It used to be that everyone knew the meaning of the terms "conservative" and "liberal." Not so any more! If you try to follow the political scorecard by the printed program, you need to keep an eagle's eye on the fellow who writes the program.

The dictionary defines a conservative as someone who is "cautiously moderate," but how many columnists use the terms conservative and moderate to convey the same label?

Time was when an ultra-liberal was someone who was extremely generous when it came to spending the taxpayer's money, and an ultra-conservative was someone who was extremely stingy about spending the taxpayer's money. The latter believed in pay as you go, and the former subscribed to go now, pay later . . . or maybe not at all.

Today, a politician who wants the government to run and pay for everything isn't called a Socialist, he's a liberal. The fellow we used to label a liberal is now called a "moderate" and anybody to the right of moderate can expect to be referred to as an old stodgy reactionary.

At the other end of the spectrum, the term "ultra-liberal" went out with



Rep. Hall attacks careless labeling media indulge in.

the fox trot and the waltz. He still exists, of course, ready, able and anxious to let the bureaucrats run your life, but he prefers to be tagged as a "moderate" and many writers and commentators (who share his philosophy) are all too happy to oblige.

Meanwhile, pity the poor "conservative." All he wants is to keep the nation financially solvent, to allow the maximum opportunity for each individual to go as far as his talent, skill and incentive will take him, to strengthen and improve our free enterprise system, to keep taxes from soaring out of sight, to maintain a strong national defense against the admitted intent of the Communists to bury us, to conserve our precious national resources and soil, to maintain the basic principles set forth in the Constitution, and to be eternally vigilant in the defense of our basic liberties and freedom.

For these objectives he is often labeled an "aginner," an obstructionist, an extremist, an ultra-something or other, and finally that ultimate epitaph—a right-winger (whatever became of the term left-winger?).

Too often I fear these labels reflect the bias of the beholder rather than the precepts of the beholden.

This discussion in semantics would be rather petty were it not for the fact that one can hardly listen to TV and radio or read any of a dozen columnists without being exposed to these labels again, and again, and again.

Conservatives, no less than liberals, moderates, etc., are concerned about poverty, urban decay, pollution, education, medical care, raising standards of living, increasing opportunities for all, and bringing peace to a restive world. As a physician, I learned long ago that there were some cures that were much worse than the disease, and that it pays to be fully aware of the long-range effects before one prescribes a pill for the patient. The alarming increase in our national debt, growing crime rates, and the general decay in moral concepts, at least partly, are the accumulation of too many short-range cures.

There are a lot of cures floating about the legislative corridors which don't live up to the labels, and which therefore create greater problems in their wake. The true statesman is one who isn't willing to sell out the next generation in order to tranquilize the present one. The soundest solutions usually require much more than merely passing new laws and spending more money.

Perhaps this meager effort to put political labels in proper perspective will inspire some of the other columnists who wear white hats to refer to some of the "cautiously moderate" conservatives in both parties as moderates and let the liberals once again be known as liberals. This return to semantic accuracy may not stick, but it surely will strike terror into the mass media "image makers."

In the meantime, the public would be well advised to ignore the labels and judge for themselves the present state of the nation under the go-now, pay-later philosophy. I have faith that progress and responsibility are not incompatible terms and that those who espouse them both are not battling a lost cause.

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Union Rights Vs. Public Rights

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

In his recent column in *Newsweek* magazine, Prof. Henry C. Wallich does not think the time is ripe "to curb the right to strike." Anyway, he asserts, strikes aren't that serious. Automation has a strike-breaking effect, since many industries can be run with fewer employes.

Wallich's nonchalance about shutting down an industry which transports 740 *billion* revenue ton-miles of freight, most of it heavy stuff that cannot be transported any other way, is incomprehensible. Maybe the nation wouldn't be completely destroyed by such a strike, merely brought to its knees.

Most people will vigorously disagree with Mr. Wallich's conclusion about the importance of strikes and their effect on the country. But leaving this discussion aside for the moment, it is important to note that Mr. Wallich has created a straw man and tried to knock him down. He has completely evaded the main issue involved in strikes.

A thousand, or 10,000 men do not strike as individuals. They strike under the auspices of a labor union. The union has been accorded monopoly privileges under the law. Under the Norris-LaGuardia Act, court injunctions in labor disputes were outlawed. It is practically impossible to sue a union for damages.

The Wagner Act gave certified labor unions exclusive power to bargain for workers in an entire industry; it frowned on labor union competition. In effect, it granted monopoly power to unions. Rulings of the National Labor Relations Board and the courts have confirmed the crushing power of labor unions over the public and over their own members.

Now, all other monopolies are subject to government regulations. The theory goes that where there is no competition the government must protect the public interest. Why then is it illogical to subject labor unions to some regulation when the functioning of the economy, and at times the safety of the nation, is at stake?

Says Mr. Wallich, "Labor rightly or wrongly views it [the strike] as a pearl in its claim of human rights." What about the human rights of the American public—is that to receive no consideration whatever in discussions of strikes? If labor unions insist on the right of monopoly privileges, shouldn't they be subject to restraint when the public safety is involved?

But there is one aspect of this problem which some believe to be even more important than labor union privileges under present laws. That is the use of force and violence to enforce a strike. It is common knowledge that the most powerful corporations dare not continue production once a strike is called. Why? Because they know by experience that those who want to work will be prevented from doing so by physical violence.

Mass picketing, which is permitted and encouraged under the law, often intimidates those who want to work. Strikers often attack and maim innocent workers, automobiles are overturned and sabotage is quite common. All of this has nothing to do with the *legal* rights of unions. It has to do with the anarchy which prevails when a company exercises its rights to produce goods even if there is a strike.

The right of individuals to leave their work when not satisfied with their employment is not an issue. Do workers, organized as a union, have the right physically to prevent others from working? To avert one's gaze from union violence and complete disregard of the law is hardly a way to honestly face the issue.

Does a worker have an inherent right to his job? That is the main question—not the right of the worker to walk off his job and strike. There is no law now on the statute books which guarantees the right of anyone to hold his job under all conditions. It is only by extra-legal means this right is enforced by organized labor. The hearings of the McClellan Committee are eloquent on this point. The evidence is abundant that violence has become a major weapon of union power. What has this to do with the *right* to strike?

Compulsory arbitration is, indeed, a bad way to run a free enterprise system. But it must be remembered that compulsory arbitration is called into being by the overweening power of labor unions. To avoid compulsory arbitration it is necessary to curb the monopoly power which has been granted to labor unions.

(Distributed by Columbia Features, Inc.)

Wise Man Thant?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

United Nations Secretary-General U Thant has, once again, proved publicly his amazing diplomatic tact and political wisdom—by lecturing the United States on how to conduct its foreign policy!

Speaking at a Quaker international conference in Greensboro, N.C., the other day, Thant said the war in Viet Nam could not be ended unless the U.S. recognized that it was "a war of national independence" rather than a war of Communist aggression.

U Thant likened the policy of North Vietnamese Communists, whose main weapon is terrorism, to the fighters for American independence in 1776! The U.N. chief also said he expected North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong guerrillas eventually to win the war. In addition he lamented the fact that "the use of

Article 100 of the U.N. Charter forbids the secretary-general, presently U Thant (above), from expressing his personal opinion.

force" (presumably, of course, American force) had "eroded the standards of international morality."

As secretary-general of the United Nations, U Thant has no right to express publicly any opinion about the foreign policy of a member state, unless he is authorized to do so by the United Nations. Moreover, as a foreign diplomat working at U.N. headquarters in New York, U Thant is an official guest of this country. He enjoys diplomatic privileges and he is, therefore, obliged to observe diplomatic practice.

Diplomats are absolutely forbidden to express openly, let alone in public speeches, critical opinions of the country in which they serve. Recently French President de Gaulle, who is, after all, the elected head of state of an important European state, learned a good diplomatic lesson in Canada. De Gaulle made a few speeches which were interpreted as critical to Canada and were, therefore, pronounced "unacceptable" by the Canadian government. This meant, in effect, that de Gaulle himself had become "unacceptable" to Canada, the French president took the hint and left hurriedly for home—after creating a diplomatic scandal which outraged public opinion in every free country in the world, including France.

As the United Nations is considered an international "sacred cow" by official Washington, it is too much to hope that somebody in authority in the White House or the State Department might do to U Thant what Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson did to de Gaulle, namely, tell the gentleman, in so many words, that his speeches criticizing U.S. foreign policy are quite "unacceptable." But, perhaps, the protocol desk of the State Department might discreetly send the U.N. secretary-general a booklet on diplomatic behavior. Busy as he is with the problems of the world, the U.N. chief might find time enough to read it—and behave accordingly.

Defeated Rep. McVicker Has Unique Federal Job

From the Allen-Scott Report

Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.), member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is still waiting for an official explanation of a project that has all the earmarks of having been created to provide a lame-duck Democratic congressman with a job as a $100-a-day consultant.

He is former Rep. Roy McVicker, of Colorado, elected in the 1964 Democratic landslide, and defeated in the 1966 Republican sweep.

In January of this year, as he departed the congressional payroll, McVicker was put on the AID payroll as a $100-a-day consultant, with the title of director of the Bi-National Development Feasibility Study.

This intriguing project, according to AID (which administers foreign aid), is to "encourage the participation of democratic private and local government institutions in international development by establishing cooperative relationships between areas in the United States and areas in the developing countries."

Total allotted for this unique undertaking was $65,000.

Headquarters was set up in Denver, Colo., McVicker's home state. Rental in what Rep. E. Y. Berry (R.-S.D.), described as "the plush Denver Club Building" is $580 a month. McVicker has a 14-member staff, including two associate directors and five part-time research analysts.

CORRECTION

In the article on page 6 of last week's issue by the Rev. Daniel Lyons, **Human Events** erroneously gave Bishop Sheen's diocese as Buffalo. The bishop's diocese is Rochester, N.Y.

In a letter to William Gaud, AID head, Thomson pointed out McVicker's lofty-sounding study is a duplication of effort; that it is undertaking to "determine the feasibility of what you are already doing."

How Gaud explains this $65,000 boondoggle remains to be seen.

At a Foreign Affairs Committee meeting, in reply to a series of probing questions by Rep. Berry, AID submitted the following:

Berry: "Are there other similar projects conducted by AID in other states?"

A: "No. The feasibility study is not being duplicated in any other state."

Berry: "Will the staff members of the Bi-National Development Feasibility Study be required to travel in Central America?"

Ex-Rep. Roy McVicker (D.-Colo.) drew up AID program he now administers—at taxpayer expense.

A: "The director and two consultants left the United States on April 15 to conduct field research in five Central American countries and Panama."

Berry: "When was this plan established and how long is it to continue?"

A: "The study project was approved in January 1967 and is of approximately six months' duration."

Berry: "Is there any similarity between Colorado and Central America that would make Denver be selected on a demonstration basis?"

A: "Colorado and Central America were selected as test areas because of the director's familiarity with local groups and institutions in Colorado capable of making a significant contribution to development in Central America; and the history of Spanish culture in Colorado."

Berry: "Why was it established in Denver rather than in Washington?"

A: "The project office was established in Denver because the U.S. research is being carried out primarily in Colorado."

Berry: "What has been learned as a result of its establishment?"

A: "The study is intended to determine the feasibility of coupling the people and know-how of a specific area of the United States with the aspirations and needs of a developing country or region."

Before McVicker's election to Congress, he was a Methodist minister and taught psychology at Colorado State College. AID credits him as being the author of the study he is directing.

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First-Hand Report

NATO Professionals Alarmed by McNamara's Actions

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Naples, Italy:— You hear a private story at this NATO Mediterranean headquarters of our 6th Fleet.

Some here who have been through the mill say Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara carries two watches, hoping one will be right. One stopped; the other was wrong most of the time. Rushing to his computer, Mr. McNamara asked what to do. He got his answer. "Sir, throw away the one that runs. Depend only on the stopped watch. At least it will be right twice a day."

The professional alarm about Mr. McNamara's judgment began with his fable in the Bay of Pigs, and the warnings about his retaliations against those who differ with him began in 1963.

Our 6th Fleet is based here, and the signal Mr. McNamara sent was his dismissal of immensely respected Adm. George W. Anderson, chief of Naval Operations, the No. 1 man in our Navy, when his testimony to a Senate subcommittee (under subpoena) differed from Mr. McNamara's statements during the $7-billion TFX bomber contract investigation. Our senior officers saw what could happen to them when they saw his head-chop of Adm. Anderson six years before retirement age.

Then when U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis E. LeMay's expert testimony likewise contradicted Mr. McNamara, that was the end of LeMay. His reappointment was cut to one year. This shortened term was unprecedented in our armed forces. "Just long enough — and exactly timed — to box him until after the next election," a senior officer observed here.

Former NATO commander Gen. Lauris Norstad was likewise immensely respected at this headquarters. Yet Mr. McNamara's repeated snubbing of Norstad in the presence of the NATO high command and his knifing of this professional's strategic concepts directly influenced Norstad's retirement.

The feeling among the military leaders of our NATO allies is equally documented. The British Imperial General Staff, represented in this integrated NATO command, does not forget that Mr. McNamara scrapped the Skybolt missile, on which Britain was depending, and did so petulantly, against the professional advice of the entire IGS and the vote (unanimous) of our own Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Then Mr. McNamara cooked his goose forever in NATO by summoning its highest foreign officers to a lecture on strategy and, looking down his nose, told them with flashing eyes what they are doing wrong.

How did Mr. McNamara learn to be a Clausewitz singlehanded? Why does President Johnson support his contested decisions? Mr. Johnson is really the responsible man.

The over-all result here grows worse and worse. Incredibly, Mr. McNamara did not budget a single nickel for the Viet Nam war until fiscal 1967!

Our 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean has been cannibalized. Mr. McNamara, the Great Denier, would deny this. But it is true.

His famous cost-paring was achieved chiefly in two ways: by stretching out procurement programs and by stripping equipment and inventories from our combat forces elsewhere to supply the needs in Viet Nam.

The dangerous shortages to the 6th Fleet thus created continue to grow. Our senior officers privately confirm that these are in personnel, modern arms and equipment, aircraft, spare parts, reserve stock and an absolutely frightening list of bottleneck items.

They are profoundly concerned about the state of the U.S. 7th Army in Germany where we have 250,000 troops, the capabilities of their own Mediterranean fleet, the support possible by the cannibalized Atlantic fleet and the present status of strategic reserves.

Meanwhile, Naples-based Adm. C. D. Griffin, American commander of Allied Forces for Southern Europe, says the Soviet Mediterranean naval build-up, which began after the Israeli-Arab war, appears to be permanent. This worried commander finds it includes cruisers, submarines and the lethal *Kunda*-class missile frigates carrying atomic warheads—and all of them fit to fight. The influx is steadily increasing.

Our command here finds that authority is concentrated in the Pentagon, but that responsibility is diffused; again and again no one and everyone is responsible.

That is what happened in the *Liberty* disaster off the Israeli shore. The Pentagon suddenly detached this communications ship here, directly ordered her to a vulnerable place offshore and left the Naples headquarters totally in the dark until after the deadly disaster.

The one hope here seems to be that somehow the American people learn the truth.

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STRIKING GOLD — "The Institute of Hispanic Culture in Madrid recently struck a set of commemorative gold medals honoring Spanish explorers and navigators. Also, Israel has issued some gold coins celebrating the amazing June victory. It's good to know there are some countries with gold left to strike." —From the Columbia (S.C.) *State*

Tshombe's Memoirs Published

By RUSSELL KIRK

While Moise Tshombe stands in peril of being judicially murdered in Kinshasa (Leopoldville), the capital of the Congo, a slim volume of his memoirs has just been published in translation: *My Fifteen Months in Government* (University of Plano Press). This is an account of his work and tribulations as premier of the Congo in 1964 and 1965.

It is rather an impressive little book, the notes of a practical political leader who knows that ideological fanaticism is working the ruin of Africa. "For the African," Tshombe says, "the essential values of life lie in joy and pleasure. The doctrines of the extremists have in them nothing African: they are strained, hate-ridden and restive, while the idea of happiness is a total stranger to them. The extremists are willing to sacrifice the happiness of the African people to dreams of grandeur."

In June 1964 Tshombe returned to the Congo, at the urgent invitation of President Kasavubu and Gen. Mobutu, to save his country from the Simba terrorists. He succeeded. But no sooner had he restored tolerable order than President Kasavubu began to intrigue against him, and soon dismissed him from the premiership.

Gen. Mobutu, who had been on cordial terms with Tshombe during the Katangan's period as premier, then displaced Kasavubu and established a military government, with Tshombe's assent. Once in power, Mobutu turned against Tshombe, who found it prudent to retire to Europe. In his exile he was condemned to death for "high treason" by the Mobutu dictatorship. Now Tshombe is in imminent danger of death at the hands of the general whom (with many others) he saved from the Simbas.

Tshombe's account is remarkably free from passion, despite all the mistreatment he has experienced—including periods of imprisonment by Kasavubu and by Nasser. Of Mobutu, Tshombe writes: "Although he has often shown great courage, his friends know that he can be both weak and impulsive. . . . I was deeply pained to see my country kneel before a military dictatorship. . . . Do not all dictatorships start out with good intentions, only to end in the most frightful tragedies?"

If he kills Tshombe, probably Mobutu destroys himself. For Mobutu's only remaining reliable military force is one company of "paratroopers" (lacking planes and parachutes) trained by an Israeli military mission.

The execution of Tshombe would destroy any possibility of compromise among the Congolese factions, and would provoke a renewal of the civil wars which have tormented that country for more than five years.

The only statesmen whose word is calculated to have much weight with Mobutu are President Johnson and the Emperor Haile Selassie. (American economic aid keeps Mobutu's regime from collapse, and the emperor of Ethiopia has given military aid to the Mobutu government.) Neither of those leaders desires Tshombe's death. But they will have to speak more forcefully than they have so far, if Mobutu is to be dissuaded from a political murder.

The masters of Soviet Russia will rejoice if Tshombe is put to death—indeed, the Mobutu government expects a Soviet plane to transport the kidnaped Tshombe from Algiers to Kinshasa. For the revival of anarchy in central Africa would injure the West, and the Russians might rake something from Congolese ashes.

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Expanding Red Trade

Those 'Non-Strategic' Items

When permitting shipments of American goods to the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites, the Administration consistently maintains that the products involved are "non-strategic." Here is a list of the supposedly "non-strategic" items approved for Communist-bloc trade by the U.S. government. This list was compiled by Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.):

Crude rubber, fuel wood, wood charcoal, railway cross ties, mine ties, natural fertilizers, iron ore mass, bauxite, aluminum, manganese, zinc, chromium, tin, scrap metal, coke, peat, coal, lignite, natural gas liquids, including liquefied petroleum gas.

Photographic chemicals, hydrochloric acid, iron hydroxide, ammonia, sodium hydroxide, potassium hydroxide, aluminum oxide, hydroxide, animal oils and fats.

Mineral tar, benzene, creosote, paints, enamels, varnishes, industrial product finishes, water pigments, dyes and tints and paint products.

Vitamins, antibiotics and animal products used for medicinal purposes, bandages and surgical dressings, both treated and untreated with pharmaceutical products.

Rifle cleaning compounds, BB shot, lead balls, cementing preparations, propeller blades, propellers, wooden trestles, bridges, machine-made paper for dynamite, gun wadding, shell stock, shot shell stock, parachute cloth, tarpaulins, tents, blankets, cement and building stone.

Pig iron, cast iron, carbon steel bars and rods, concrete reinforcing bars, pure iron strip, iron or steel rails, rail joints, rail tieplates and other sleeper and railway track material of iron or steel.

Iron and steel tube and pipe fittings, electrical conduits, grey iron or malleable iron castings, carbon steel castings, finished structural parts of iron and steel, iron and steel containers for storage and manufacturing use.

Storage bins of copper, wire fencing, netting and wire reinforcing fabric, welded or woven, iron or steel, aluminum wire fencing, nails, staples, spikes, tacks, bolts, threaded rods and studs, nuts, screws, rivets, washers, hand tools, power saw blades, metal-cutting shears and tinmen's snips, wrenches, pliers, pincers, files, rasps, drill bits, core bits and reamers.

Tool bit and die blanks, other cutting tools, dies, machine knives, iron or steel cargo hooks, iron and steel bearing swivels, cable clamps, cable thimbles, turnbuckles.

Boat spikes, wire nails, wire staples, outboard motors, ingot molds for heavy steel ingots, oil and gas furnace burners, mechanical stokers, ash dischargers, mechanical grates, automotive lifts, jacks for automatic vehicles or aircraft, overhead hoists, chemical fire extinguishers, and automatic fire sprinkler systems.

Railway track fixtures and fittings, concrete and bituminous pavers, finishers and spreaders, switchgear, circuit breakers, disconnect switches, fuses and power distribution cutouts.

Telephone instruments and parts, microphones, audio frequency sound amplifiers, public address systems, loudspeakers; galleys, buffet servers, ovens and other equipment specially designed for aircraft; sparkplugs for aircraft and autos; electrical starting and ignition equipment for internal combustion engines.

Electrical and electronic test benches for aircraft systems and components; infra-red and high frequency industrial ovens; power capacitors, electrical carbon brushes, axles and wheels for locomotives and railway cars.

Heaters for "non-family" vehicles, motorcycles, motor bikes, motor scooters, buoys, pontoons for pipe lines, portable electric battery and magneto lamps, binoculars, telescopes, cameras; developing, printing, fixing and washing tanks and machines for motion picture films.

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Our Bedlam Experts

You'll Never Learn History If You Don't Watch TV

By MORRIE RYSKIND

For my sins, I often don a hair shirt and force myself to watch the science fiction of TV. I do not mean, I hasten to add, those horror films in which giant reptiles tear down cities. I mean the equally creepy documentaries in which TV's experts tear down history.

There was one gem, during the Newark uprising, which put the blame for that riot on the Electoral Commission of 1876, which, by a strict party vote, gave the presidency to Rutherford B. Hayes.

Had Samuel J. Tilden won the disputed electoral votes, it was clearly implied, the Negro problem would have been non-existent and everything would be peaches and cream in Newark. And, I must presume, in all our other charred cities, too.

It just goes to show how badly I was taught history. None of my profs—and I had some noted ones—ever suggested anything of the kind, and this revelation came like a bolt from the blue, for I had been blaming innocents like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

Documentation for this rewrite of history? What are you, an atheist or something? This is a TV documentary, and comes straight from Sinai.

If you were nasty-minded, of course, you might suspect politics had something to do with the verdict. For it is a fact—it may be an FCC ruling, for all I know—that the documentaries of TV's Big Three are compiled only by liberals. And Hayes was a sound-money Republican.

I am reminded that, much in the same manner, Walter Lippmann wrote a column during the 1964 campaign which placed the harshness of the 1919 Versailles Treaty on "Goldwater Republicans." Barry was only 10 in 1919, but Lippmann wasn't fooled. He knew who had run the show.

Such expertise non-facts, gleaned by solemn contemplation of their navels by the elite, make me uncertain that LBJ's special commission to investigate our current insurrections will do the job properly. The odds are that some vicious conservative will gum up the works.

I'm going to wait for a bona-fide revisionist, say, someone like TV's famed Martin Agronsky, to tell me what's what.

I like Mr. Agronsky because he sees so clearly that Detroit, Viet Nam and the Mideast are part of the same problem. On TV I heard him suggest to Secretary Rusk that Russia might help us get peace for Israel if only we would stop bombing Hanoi.

It is a revolutionary proposal with only one minor flaw, as Mr. Rusk reminded him. Once we stopped bombing for 37 days—which Ho used to build up his forces and arms—and that interim apparently wasn't enough to assure Ho we wanted peace. But what have we to lose—except maybe a few thousand American lives—by trying again?

And Mr. A's daring proposal suggests what to do if Detroit should erupt again. Instead of sending cops and firemen and troops—an unmistakable gesture of hostility—LBJ might rush a body of workmen to erect new homes for the rioters. And nothing chintzy, please. There should be plenty of room in the new dwellings to store the television sets, the dresses, the guns and the liquor taken by the looters.

As another TV reporter reminded Detroit's Mayor Cavanaugh, the original looting and shooting in that city began in a playful "spirit of carnival"—a sort of Mardi Gras. It was only when the police interfered that the crowd showed resentment. Nobody likes a killjoy.

On the other hand, another group of Negro leaders assert that if Mayor Cavanaugh had intervened earlier, the revolt would have been snuffed out a-borning.

It is hard on us non-intellectuals when even the experts disagree. Shortly before the Watts uprising, an "authoritative" study said race conditions in Los Angeles were among the best in the nation. But that, of course, was before any of us knew Rutherford B. Hayes was to blame.

How about impeaching our 19th President posthumously?

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Is Administration Planning To Abolish Private Clubs?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

In its craze for people-mixing, the Johnson Administration is on the way toward abolishing private clubs. The approach is oblique but the drive is inexorable.

Commencing last year when it took up the cudgels for a spoil-sport in Providence, R. I., the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) has been systematically at work to close the swank lounges which nine large airlines provide for their best customers.

Last December one of the carriers, Northwest Airlines, caved in to the federal pressure and permitted all first-class passengers to use what previously had been an exclusive suite. But at least two other airlines, Trans-World and American, are putting up a fight.

Trans-World Airlines (TWA) has defended its Ambassadors Club on two counts: First, that it is a club and not a waiting room for passengers and other persons, and is not legally a part of the public utility called air transportation (because it is located on the ground) and therefore not subject to CAB regulation.

Second, TWA contends that its club is a facility for accommodating its best customers, and does not differ from the private dining rooms maintained by General Motors and U. S. Steel for the big spenders in automobiles and metals.

TWA's arguments are still before the CAB, but will be rejected. The Administration, it was explained to me by that agency, makes a distinction between just and unjust discrimination. For example, there is special treatment for servicemen in the standby lines at airports, and other special treatments for children and chair-borne invalids. These practices are regarded as just discrimination. But the practice of airlines in offering deluxe waiting-room facilities to promote their business is regarded as unjust discrimination.

American Airlines is taking another route in trying to preserve its Admirals Club, founded far back in 1938 and now sporting a membership of 100,000. A roster of such length doesn't suggest snobbishness, and there has never been a charge that the invitation list is closed to anybody because of race, color or creed. But if you're not particularly air-minded, not in *Who's Who*, not in *Poore's Standard Directory*, not in government service or the clergy, you probably won't be invited to join—and this is regarded by CAB as unjust discrimination.

C. R. Smith, chairman of the board and fleet admiral of the club, proposes to get around the close-down procedures by charging members $250 for life. He believes that this would meet the CAB's objection that the Admirals Club is an extra service that the airline does not offer to all its purchasers of first-class tickets. However, I am told by a spokesman at CAB that the paid-membership plan is not acceptable, since it is still based upon invitation by the company.

The same CAB spokesman vehemently denied that the policy has any application to private clubs in general. But if a government agency which regulates air transportation can extend its authority into the waiting room, some other federal agency—let's say the Internal Revenue Service or the U.S. Health Service—will surely find reason to supervise the conduct of midtown clubs and country clubs.

If the government asserts its right to decide between just and unjust favoritism, there are no limits to the supervision over human behavior.

Significantly, CAB under President Kennedy examined this very same subject in 1962, and in 1963 dismissed the complaints as being of insufficient public interest to warrant action. What we're seeing under the Johnson Administration is progressive interference with private liberties.

It's getting to be that the "Great Society" permits no place to hide from those who wear the badge of government.

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Continued from Page One

Ford Says: No Victory Plan, No More Troops

• Fourth, only one small portion of one of our recommendations, the use of conventional American air and sea power against military targets, has been even belatedly tried. On June 29, 1966, President Johnson permitted air attacks on some, but not all, of North Viet Nam's petroleum storage depots. As Secretary of Defense McNamara admitted at the time, the enemy already was well advanced on a major dispersion plan. But to this day, 13 months later, only about one-fourth of the known oil storage targets in North Viet Nam have been hit by American air strikes and a significant percentage remain officially forbidden.

Yes, I am deeply troubled. Is this any way to run a war while casualties increase tenfold? Is it really necessary, will it do any real good, to send another 45,000 men to Viet Nam?

Before leaving our 20-month-old recommendations, largely rejected, let me stress two other key words in that Republican statement. Nobody was or is urging escalation. It was specific about conventional weapons—the kind we have been dropping on jungles and individual trucks in prodigious tonnages—and about military targets, not indiscriminate bombing of civilians or cities. But the Communists, as they proved in Korea and other wars, are quite capable of shielding their most strategic targets with their own women and children. It is horrible, but effective.

The very word "escalation" has become a bugaboo and its military meaning abused. The scope of American involvement in Viet Nam was really escalated or enlarged in February 1965 when President Johnson approved the bombing of North Viet Nam. I accept the President's own definition—Aug. 29, 1964—during the 1964 election campaign when he told Americans:

> I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war, and result in our committing a good many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land. And for that reason I haven't chosen to enlarge the war.

I supported the President when he reversed this decision six months later. I again supported him when he removed his earlier restraints on bombing some enemy oil storage depots in June 1966. Neither of these steps brought Russian or Red Chinese intervention. What they did bring was a loud Communist clamor for unconditional U.S. cessation of all bombing of North Viet Nam, and much propaganda about civilian casualties.

Thus we already have accepted whatever real risks or propaganda punishment might be incurred in maximum use of American conventional sea and air powers against significant military targets in North Viet Nam. The whole world thinks that is what we are doing. The American people have been and still are being led to believe that is what we are doing. Most Americans wonder why North Viet Nam has not been totally destroyed. They remember what conventional bombing did to Tokyo and Berlin, to London and Warsaw. They wonder what can be left in North Viet Nam worth bombing.

Over this past weekend [August 5] there have been successive reports of massive American air strikes against North Viet Nam. On Saturday we read: "197 Missions Set Record for Raids on North Viet Nam." On Sunday it was "U.S. Carrier Jets Meet Heavy Fire in Hanoi Region," and on Monday, "U.S. Raids North 178 Times in Day." It also was announced we have lost 636 U.S. planes over North Viet Nam.

But when one reads the official spokesmen's account of what was accomplished on these air strikes, nothing has changed. Strategic bombers from Guam dropped their bombs on North Vietnamese weapons positions, base camps, storage areas and trails. U.S. pilots attacked troop concentrations, three artillery pieces, one bunker, two armored vehicles, one tank, five trucks. Other strikes hit an oil storage depot, 28 trucks, 10 undescribed buildings, one warehouse area, one bridge. These are all the details given for what is touted as the biggest American air assault of the Viet Nam war.

We are still pulling our best punch in North Viet Nam.

The distinguished first secretary of the air force, Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), recently expressed his exasperation over accounts of U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese targets by saying "Somebody is making available to the press a vast amount of misinformation."

I believe it is high time the American people knew the truth.

• Would the American people believe that in mid-1967, after two and one-half years of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam—an area about the size of Michigan—only three out of every 10 significant military targets had ever been struck by U.S. airpower?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

• Would the American people believe that when Secretary McNamara made his ninth visit to Viet Nam last month, publicly opining that U.S. forces there might be used more effectively, nearly half the identified top priority targets in North Viet Nam were officially off limits to air attack under high-level orders from Washington?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

• Would the American people believe that more than a hundred vital, fixed enemy positions in North Viet Nam, including most of the air defense control centers that have accounted for more than 600 U.S. planes, most of his major airfields and all of his naval facilities, could not be attacked under Washington orders?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

• Would the American people believe that despite the much-publicized and prayerful presidential decision to allow bombing of some oil depots a year ago, about three-fourths of the enemy's petroleum storage targets had not yet come under attack? Or that despite frequent news reports of raids on power plants, roughly one-third of North Viet Nam's total power targets and all enemy hydroelectric generating facilities were still forbidden targets by orders from on high?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

• Would the American people believe that 60 per cent of the key targets that make up North Viet Nam's transportation network were immune from our air attack? That only about one-fourth of these priority transport targets, one-third of his railroad facilities and bridges had ever been attacked? That all seaport targets and canal locks were off limits? That most of the enemy's repair shops could not be hit?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

• Would the American people believe that high-level directives for more than two years prevented American airmen from hitting five out of six of North Viet Nam's key industrial targets? That however primitive, nearly 90 per cent of the targets in the enemy's warmaking industrial base remained unscathed?

• Would Americans believe that even in the category of purely military facilities, North Vietnamese Army, Navy, Air Force and defense installations, more than two-thirds of the total targets never had been attacked? That only ammunition dumps have been significantly hit? That almost half of these military targets remained officially forbidden by high-level policy restraints?

Why are we pulling our airpower punch?

Contrary to the calculated public impression, the real argument at the highest levels of our government which took Mr. McNamara to Saigon last month and twice brought Gen. Westmoreland to Washington has not been whether to send 250,000 men, or 100,000 men, or 45,000 men, or 20,000 men to Viet Nam. It is high time the American people knew what the real issue was.

The real issue was whether we really have any hope of winning the Viet Nam war, in the sense of meaningful and concerted military pressure that could force the enemy to the negotiating table, or not. If not, I can see no justification for sending one more American over there, let alone 45,000.

Perhaps we all have been diverted in recent weeks by the Middle East crisis and the violence in our cities, from the moment of truth that is confronting this nation on our future course in Viet Nam. . . .

In his tax increase message, President Johnson only confirmed our worst fears. He revealed no recent change in his policies or his plans. On the contrary, he took pains to stress that his words about the Viet Nam war last January "are even more true today."

The President repeated his bleak estimate that "we face more cost, more loss, and more agony." He reiterated that nearly half-a-million Americans "have deprived the Communist enemy of victory" and that the enemy "can no longer succeed on the battlefield." He did not say our pressure on the enemy would be intensified or increased, only this:

> I must say to you that our pressure must be *sustained*—and will be sustained—until he realizes that the war he started is costing him more than he can ever gain. I know *of no strategy* more likely to attain that end than the strategy of "accumulating slowly, but inexorably, every kind of material resource"—"of laboriously teaching troops the very element of their trade." That, and patience—and I mean a great deal of patience.

Again I ask: Why are we pulling our airpower punch?

Our Navy and Air Force have clear superiority in the air over North Viet Nam and its coastal areas. They have the weapons and resources they need. They know "the very elements of their trades" superbly.

Must we accept as inevitable that the only way to fight this war is within the territory of South Viet Nam, matching the enemy body for body, bayonet for bayonet, grenade for grenade?

It is one thing to deprive the enemy of victory. It is one thing to say he can no longer succeed. It is one thing to increase his cost of continuing the war. Cannot Ho Chi Minh claim he has done the same to us?

Can we match the Asian Communists even in patience?

I for one am running short of patience. I would like to believe that the President has been misled or misinformed, that with all his aides and advisers he has been unable to obtain the evidence which I know is available to him as it is to me.

In his tax increase message President Johnson concluded that—

> The test before us as people is . . . whether we have the will and the courage to match our commitments.

Mr. James Reston, commenting in the New York *Sunday Times,* says this:

> The unsolved problem, obvious for a very long time, which Lyndon Johnson will not face and which the people intuitively understand or seem to understand, is the problem of *priority.*

I believe the test of will and courage is not the people's, but the President's. I believe that ending the war in Viet Nam must have the very highest of national priorities, now.

Without this, we shall continue to wallow and weave and wobble in what Gen. Eisenhower called "as nasty a mess as we have ever been in." Neither more men, nor more money, nor more material will do any good unless there is more will and more courage at the top.

I hope that the apparent step-up in air attacks over North Viet Nam over the past few days signals a reversal of past mistakes, that targets of real strategic significance will shortly be struck, and that before the weather turns bad for another long season this will really cripple the enemy's war-making capability. I hope this, but the President has only promised to sustain the same inadequate level of pressure permitted in the past.

Would Americans believe that during all of 1966, handcuffed by such secret restraints, brave American airmen flew more than 100,000 combat missions over North Viet Nam without attacking one of these significant strategic targets? Would they believe that under this policy, apparently unchanged, only about 1,000 strikes were directed against top-priority pressure points during 1966, while 279 U.S. planes were lost?

Can military morale be sustained under such circumstances? Can peace ever be won this way?

I am not a military expert, but I have full confidence in many dedicated Americans who are, and in the facts that support their deep and patriotic concern. I believe the American people deserve to be told the truth about Viet Nam. There is no need to conceal such information from the enemy, unless it be to deceive one's own countrymen. . . .

I do not want to wait until the September 1967 elections in South Viet Nam to start ending this war.

I do not want to wait until the 1968 elections in the United States to bring this war to an end.

If bringing peace to Viet Nam and bringing half-a-million Americans home alive would ensure President Johnson's re-election by a landslide, I would gladly pay that price.

I do not think the President has made a convincing case for a tax increase. Let us debate that another day. Even less, in view of the evidence I have, has the commander-in-chief made a convincing case for sending 45,000 more troops to fight a ground war in Viet Nam.

It is my earnest plea that he will reconsider.

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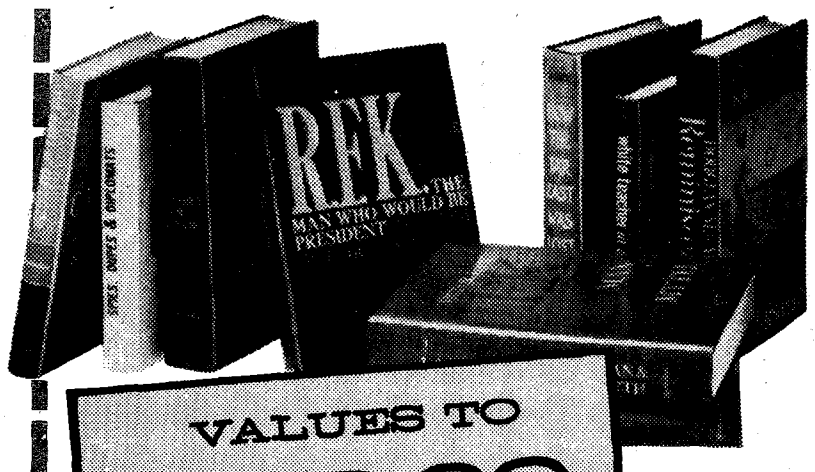

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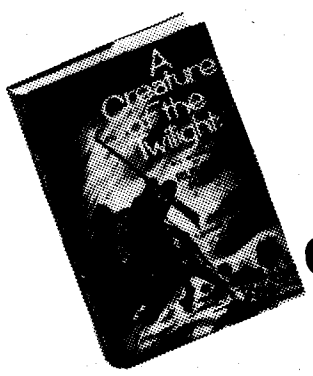

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